CICERO

IN TWENTY-EIGHT VOLUMES

XXVII

THE LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN FOUR VOLUMES

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XXVII

THE LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

III

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INTRODUCTION

This collection of Cicero's "Letters to his Friends" was preserved and edited by his secretary Tiro. The collection is inadequately entitled, as it includes several letters, some of them of profound interest, from his friends to Cicero. There are 426 letters, divided into sixteen books, not arranged in any sort of order,[a] chronological or otherwise, except that letters from or to particular correspondents are generally grouped together; the third book, for instance, consists exclusively of letters from Cicero to Appius Claudius Pulcher, and the eighth book of letters from Marcus Caelius Rufus to Cicero.

The earliest letter is one from Cicero to Pompey (x. 7) dated 62 B.C., the year after Cicero's consulship; the latest is one from him to Cassius (xii. 10) written in 43 B.C., the year after the assassination of Caesar, and a few months before his own.

These nineteen years from 62 to 43 B.C. cover a period of supreme importance in the history of the Roman Republic—a period more minutely described and vividly illustrated in these letters, giving us as they do the different points of view of various correspondents, than even in the "Letters to Atticus," written by Cicero alone.

[a] The confusion thus caused is to some extent obviated by a summary, in chronological order, prefixed to each volume, of the events in each year covered by the Letters.

The Letters vary greatly in interest and style; while many of them contain matter of the highest literary or historical value—as, for instance, Cicero's explanation of his political change of front (i. 9), Sulpicius Rufus's letter of condolence to Cicero on the death of his daughter Tullia (iv. 5) and Matius's defence of his friendship for Caesar (xi. 28)—others are no more than merely formal documents.

The text is based on that of Nobbe (1849); but where there was an obvious call for emendation in that text I have not hesitated to adopt other readings, always with due acknowledgement.

Such universally accepted orthographical corrections as *cum* for *quum*, *consili* for *consilii*, and *causa* for *caussa* I have made as a matter of course.

To Tyrrell and Purser's exhaustive (it has rightly been described as "monumental") *Commentary on the Correspondence of Cicero*[a] I have made constant reference, and owe more than I can tell; I have depended upon it, too, for the dates of the letters. Watson's *Select Letters* (with the recently revised edition by Mr. W. W. How), and Pritchard and Bernard's *Selected Letters for the use of Schools* have been of invaluable assistance to me, and I have freely consulted the admirable translations of all or some of the letters by E. S. Shuckburgh, G. E. Jeans, and S. H. Jeyes.

To all the above distinguished Ciceronians I acknowledge with gratitude my very deep indebtedness.

[a] Referred to in my notes for the sake of brevity as "Tyrrell."

INTRODUCTION

The Manuscripts

The oldest and soundest ms. of the *Epistulae ad Familiares* is the Codex Mediceus 49. 9, now in the Laurentian Library at Florence. This is known as M. Other mss., each giving some of the letters, are:

G, Codex Harleianus 2773, in the British Museum.
R, Codex Parisianus 17812, in the Bibliothèque Nationale.
(G and R are closely connected, and both independent of M.)
T, Codex Turonensis 688, in the Library of Tours.
H, Codex Harleianus 2682, in the British Museum.
F, Codex Erfurtensis, now Berolinensis, 252, which closely follows H.
D, Codex Palatinus, originally at Heidelberg, now in the Vatican.

Of these M alone contains all the *Epistulae ad Familiares*, G, R, and T giving different portions of Bks. I. to VIII., and H, F, and D of Bks. IX. to XVI.

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This volume now contains only Cicero's *Letters to His Friends*, Books XIII-XVI. The *Letters to His Brother Quintus* and the *Letters to Brutus* have been transferred to an additional volume of the *Letters*; to which have been added *The Handbook of Electioneering* and the *Letter to Octavian* translated by Mrs. Mary Henderson.

A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF CICERO

DATE B.C.	
106.	Cicero is born on Jan. 3 near Arpinum.
89.	Serves under Cn. Pompeius Strabo in the Marsic War.
86.	Writes his *De inventione*.
80.	Delivers his speech *Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino*.
79-78.	Travels in Greece and Asia.
77.	Returns to Rome, and marries Terentia.
75-74.	Serves as quaestor for Lilybaeum in Sicily.
70.	Accuses Verres. First Consulship of Pompey and Crassus.
69.	Curule aedile.
66.	Praetor. Speech *Pro lege Manilia*.
64.	Elected Consul with C. Antonius Hybrida (the latter by a small majority over Catiline).

63 B.C.

§ 1. Cicero, being now consul, successfully opposes the agrarian law of the tribune P. Servilius Rullus, which was in the interests of Caesar and Crassus, and

intended to check the growing power of Pompey. Caesar is elected Pontifex Maximus. Cicero carries in the Senate the proposal of a *supplicatio* of unusual length to Pompey in honour of his eastern triumphs.

§ 2. Having conciliated his colleague C. Antonius by resigning to him the governorship in 62 of the rich province of Macedonia, Cicero felt himself able in the autumn of 63 to oppose the treasonable designs of L. Sergius Catilina, of which he had full information from the spy, L. Curius. In the consular elections for 62 Catiline was again defeated. On October 21 Cicero foretold the rising of the Catilinarian Manlius in Etruria on the 27th. Martial law was proclaimed, and the conspirators failed in an attempt to seize Praeneste on November 1, and another plot to murder Cicero was exposed. But Catiline had the audacity to appear in the Senate on November 8, when Cicero so crushingly denounced him that he left Rome to take command of the insurgents in Etruria.

§ 3. Certain envoys of the Allobroges, having been approached by the conspirators to supply Catiline with cavalry, were arrested, and on the strength of incriminating letters found upon them the following five conspirators were seized and imprisoned—P. Lentulus Sura (praetor), C. Cethegus (senator), L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Cimber, and M. Caeparius; and at a meeting of the Senate on December 5, mainly at the instance of M. Cato, though Caesar, then praetor elect, was opposed to it, a decree was carried that the five conspirators arrested should be put to death, and that same evening they were strangled under Cicero's supervision.

§ 4. On December 29 the tribune Q. Metellus Nepos vetoed Cicero's address to the people on going out of office, alleging that "he had put citizens to death without a trial"; but Cicero's declaration that he had thereby saved his country was received with applause. This Metellus was one of Pompey's officers and was probably instigated by his general, who was chagrined that Cicero, and not he, should have quelled the conspiracy.

62 B.C.

Consuls: D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena

§ 1. Catiline, making for Cisalpine Gaul with Manlius's army, is met by Metellus Celer and thrown back on the army of C. Antonius. In a battle near Pistoria the insurgents were utterly and finally defeated, and Catiline slain.

§ 2. Cicero resents Pompey's lukewarm appreciation of his services to the Republic (v. 7).

§ 3. In December P. Claudius Pulcher, commonly known as Clodius, "one of the most profligate characters of a profligate age," disguised as a female musician profaned the mysteries of the Bona Dea, which were being celebrated by Roman matrons at the house of Caesar. He was discovered and brought to trial in 61.

61 B.C.

Consuls: M. Pupius Piso and M. Valerius Messalla Niger

§ 1. Pompey, having returned from the east and disbanded his army in the preceding December,

addressed the Roman people in January of this year, but failed to create a good impression. He disapproved of the bill for Clodius's prosecution, and being distrusted by the extremists in the Senate, found himself so isolated that he made overtures to Cicero.

§ 2. The consul Pupius Piso also opposed the bill for an inquiry into Clodius's affair, but the trial ultimately came on, with the result that by means of the grossest bribery Clodius was acquitted. Cicero had given evidence cancelling an alibi put up by Clodius, who swore to be avenged upon him, and proved to be a formidable foe, owing to his family connexions, and his influence over the city populace.

60 B.C.

Consuls: L. Afranius and Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer

§ 1. Led by the consul Metellus Celer, now at enmity with Pompey for having divorced his half-sister Mucia, the Senate, by obstinately opposing Pompey's plans in Asia and grants of land to his veterans, completely alienated him, and by refusing all concessions to the *publicani* in Asia offended the *equites* from among whom the *publicani* were mainly drawn. Pompey was ultimately forced into a coalition with Caesar, who returned to Rome in June to canvass for the consulship, which by the aid of Pompey and Crassus he secured.

§ 2. The *optimates*, however, brought about by bribery the election as Caesar's colleague of

M. Calpurnius Bibulus, a staunch aristocrat, but a *fainéant* consul.

§ 3. Caesar, having effected the reconciliation of Pompey and Crassus, now invited Cicero to join them, but he preferred to retain his independence, and the coalition (incorrectly called the first triumvirate) of Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, to which he might have belonged, was established without him.

59 B.C.

Consuls: C. Julius Caesar and M. Calpurnius Bibulus

§ 1. Caesar, having failed to carry through the Senate an agrarian law providing *inter alia* for Pompey's veterans, brought another law before the assembly of the people distributing the *ager Campanus* among those veterans, and this law was carried despite the opposition of the consul Bibulus and some of the tribunes.

§ 2. P. Vatinius, one of the most unprincipled men of the time, was a humble hireling of Caesar, and now as tribune he carried the famous Lex Vatinia, which gave Caesar the command of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum with three legions for five years; and the Senate, on the motion of Pompey (now, by his marriage with Julia, Caesar's son-in-law), added Transalpine Gaul to his command, with a fourth legion.

§ 3. In March Cicero, in defending his former colleague C. Antonius, who was accused of extortion as proconsul of Macedonia, attacked the triumvirate, causing grave offence to Caesar, who immediately

retaliated by sanctioning the adoption into a plebeian family of Cicero's enemy Clodius, thus making him eligible for the tribunate, where he would be in a stronger position to wreak his vengeance on Cicero.

58 B.C.

Consuls : L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus and Aulus Gabinius

§ 1. Clodius, who had been elected tribune in the preceding October, having carried some very popular measures in January, further established his position in February by promulgating a law assigning to the consuls on their going out of office the provinces they most desired—Syria to Gabinius, and Macedonia with Achaia to Piso,—but he made the law contingent upon the passing of two other measures which were subsequently carried—(1) a commission giving to Cato the annexation of Cyprus, and (2) an enactment "that anyone who had put Roman citizens to death without a trial should be forbidden fire and water."

§ 2. Cicero, realizing that the enactment was aimed at himself, put on mourning and threw himself on the mercy of the people. The senators and *equites* also went into mourning, but were compelled by an edict of the consuls to dress as usual. Caesar stated in public that he thought Cicero had acted illegally in putting Lentulus Sura to death, and Pompey, on being appealed to, referred Cicero to the consuls, who had already shown their hostility. Finally Cicero, at the instance of his family and Hortensius, left Rome and went into exile at the end of March. He was immediately declared an outlaw by Clodius,

and his house on the Palatine and villas at Formiae and Tusculum were pillaged and dismantled.

§ 3. Cicero went to Brundisium and thence to Thessalonica, where he sojourned for seven months at the house of his friend, the quaestor Cn. Plancius. As the year went on the situation at Rome became brighter for him; Clodius had offended Pompey by aiding the escape from Rome of the Armenian prince Tigranes whom Pompey had captured, by defeating the consul Gabinius in a street riot, and even forcing Pompey to shut himself up in his house. Moreover, Lentulus Spinther, one of the consuls elected, was personally devoted to Cicero, and the other, Metellus Nepos, a friend of Pompey; while among the new tribunes T. Annius Milo, T. Fadius, and P. Sestius strenuously advocated Cicero's recall. His son-in-law also, C. Calpurnius Piso, who had married Cicero's daughter Tullia in 63, and was now quaestor, exercised what influence he had in the interests of his father-in-law.

57 B.C.

Consuls: P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther and Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos

§ 1. No sooner had the consul Lentulus entered into office on January 1 than he brought before the Senate, with the approval of Pompey, the question of Cicero's recall; and despite the obstruction of two of the tribunes, the people, led by Fabricius and all the praetors (except Appius Claudius Pulcher, Clodius's brother), passed in their Assembly (the *comitia centuriata*) on January 23 a provisional decree recalling Cicero. The Senate thanked Cn. Plancius and others for sheltering Cicero in his

banishment, and summoned the Italians to vote finally for his recall in the Assembly, and the bill was carried with enthusiastic unanimity on August 4, the voters being protected from Clodius and his armed ruffians by troops under the command of Milo.

§ 2. Cicero, who had come down to Dyrrachium in the preceding autumn, now crossed over to Brundisium, where he was informed by his brother Quintus of the passing of the decree for his recall, and, after a triumphal progress homeward, re-entered Rome amid universal rejoicings on September 4.

§ 3. Later on, on the motion of Cicero, Pompey is granted the *imperium* in the form of the control of the corn supply (*curatio rei annonariae*) for five years; and on the expiry of their terms of office Lentulus receives Cilicia, and Nepos Hither Spain, as his province.

§ 4. Ptolemy Auletes (the Flute-player), king of Egypt, father of Cleopatra, having been expelled by his subjects, comes to seek the assistance of Rome, and the Senate decrees that his restoration should be entrusted to the next governor of Cilicia, *i.e.* the then consul, Lentulus Spinther.

56 B.C.

Consuls: Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, who supported the optimates *and opposed the triumvirs; and L. Marcius Philippus, who later married Atia, widow of C. Octavius, and so became the stepfather of Augustus*

§ 1. In January the question of the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes is reopened and hotly debated in the Senate, and Cicero sends Lentulus, now proconsul of Cilicia, a full account of the voting. Pompey,

though ostensibly supporting the claims of Lentulus to effect the restoration, was anxious to secure for himself a commission which would not only be highly lucrative, but would give him a fleet, an army, and a base in Egypt. Cicero felt bound to support his benefactor Lentulus, and the majority of the Senate were afraid or jealous of Pompey, when, very opportunely for them, the tribune C. Cato discovered a Sibylline oracle, forbidding the restoration of Ptolemy by anyone *cum multitudine hominum* ("with a host of men"). This is the *religio* referred to in Bk. i. 2 and 3. The wranglings in the Senate ended in no settlement, but Ptolemy was ultimately restored by A. Gabinius in 55.

§ 2. Clodius, who still lorded it in the streets of Rome, escaped being prosecuted by Milo by being elected curule aedile, and turned the tables on Milo by accusing him in February of *vis* (breach of the peace). Pompey, when defending Milo, was shouted down by Clodius's ruffians, who declared that Crassus, and not Pompey, should restore Ptolemy. This led Pompey to suspect that Crassus was aiding and abetting the rioters. The result of the trial was the closer alliance of Pompey and Milo, and the more definite support of Clodius by the extreme aristocrats—Curio, Bibulus, Favonius, and others.

§ 3. Later in February, Cicero, in defending P. Sestius, who had strongly favoured his recall, and was now accused of *vis*, made his speech (as Watson describes it) "a regular political manifesto," and converted his *interrogatio* (cross-examination) of P. Vatinius, now a witness for the prosecution, into a bitter attack upon him as the author of the Lex Vatinia in 59 (see 59 B.C., § 2). The acquittal

of Sestius encouraged Cicero to hope for the restoration of the Republic, or at any rate the dissolution of the coalition, Pompey being still at feud with Crassus (§ 2) and jealous of Caesar.

§ 4. Cicero therefore, partly with a view of widening the breach between Pompey and Caesar, proposed the suspension of Caesar's law about the *ager Campanus* (see 59 B.C., § 1) on the grounds that the State could not afford any more allotments. This would not affect Pompey, whose veterans had already been provided for, whereas Caesar would be precluded from using the remaining land for his own veterans. He also saw that the repeal of the agrarian law would be followed by that of the Vatinian.

§ 5. Having therefore previously interviewed Crassus at Ravenna, Caesar took him with him to join Pompey at Luca, a town of Liguria in N. Italy; and here the coalition of 60 (see 60 B.C., § 3) was not only renewed but developed into an omnipotent triumvirate who could settle the affairs of the State at their own discretion.

§ 6. This to Cicero, the Republican, and lifelong advocate of *concordia ordinum* ("the harmony of the senatorial and equestrian orders"), was a crushing political calamity, but he had to bow to the inevitable, and the famous letter 9 in Bk. I. is his *apologia* for his change of front. Withdrawing his motion on the *ager Campanus*, he supported a motion in the Senate to provide pay for Caesar's troops and allowing him to appoint ten *legati*. This was followed by his brilliant speech *De provinciis consularibus*, practically a panegyric upon Caesar and his achievements in Gaul.

§ 7. Clodius's turbulence in 56–57 had estranged Pompey, who now leaned to the side of Milo, but the extreme *optimates* (including M. Cato, who was indebted to Clodius for a commission to settle the affairs of Cyprus in 58) showed such fulsome partiality for Clodius, that Cicero, being earnestly requested by Caesar, whom he could not now disobey, to undertake the defence of Vatinius, whom he particularly detested, adroitly converted his predicament into a means of annoying the *optimates* saying that "if *they* coquetted with one Publius (viz. Clodius), *he* would coquet with another Publius (viz. Vatinius) by way of reprisal" (i. 9. 19).

55 B.C.

Consuls (after an "interregnum" in January caused by the tribune C. Cato): Cn. Pompeius and M. Licinius Crassus, both for the second time, having been consuls together in 70

§ 1. Crassus carries his Lex Licinia for the suppression of *sodalicia* ("political combinations"). Pompey opens his new theatre with shows of unparalleled magnificence, but his wholesale slaughter of elephants disgusts not only Cicero, but the people generally.

§ 2. Cicero finishes his *De oratore.* Crassus sets out for Syria, and his departure, together with the death of Pompey's wife Julia, Caesar's daughter, put an end to even the semblance of friendship between Pompey and Caesar.

§ 3. Gabinius marches into Egypt, occupies Alexandria, and restores the ex-king Ptolemy Auletes,

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

54 B.C.

Consuls: L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, an optimate, who married M. Crassus's sister Porcia, and fell at Pharsalia in 48, and Appius Claudius Pulcher

§ 1. Cicero helps to secure the acquittal of his former enemy, P. Vatinius, who requited his kindness after Pharsalia and later, and at Pompey's instance defends, though unsuccessfully, his former enemy, A. Gabinius; and also defends successfully his old friend Cn. Plancius, charged with *ambitus*, in his famous speech *Pro Plancio*.

§ 2. His brother, Q. Cicero, goes over from Pompey to Caesar as his legate, and serves him with distinction in Britain and Gaul; and this leads to a *rapprochement* between Cicero and Caesar.

53 B.C.

Consuls, after disorder lasting till July: Cn. Domitius Calvinus and M. Valerius Messalla

Defeat and murder of M. Crassus in June, near Carrhae. Cicero is more deeply affected by the death, a little earlier, of M. Crassus's son, Publius (v. 8. 4). Cicero succeeds Crassus as augur, and supports Milo's candidature for the consulship, recommending him to C. Scribonius Curio, to whom he writes a series of letters (ii. 1-7).

52 B.C.

About the middle of January Clodius is slain near Bovillae by the retainers of Milo; his body is buried by his supporters in the forum, when the senate-house caught fire and was destroyed; martial law

is proclaimed, and finally Pompey is made sole consul, being allowed to retain the government of Spain. Milo is accused of *vis* and condemned. He goes into exile at Massilia.

51 B.C.

Consuls: Servius Sulpicius Rufus and M. Claudius Marcellus

Cicero goes to Cilicia as proconsul, succeeding Appius Claudius, who had succeeded Lentulus in 54, and M. Calpurnius Bibulus goes to Syria. Cicero is kept fully informed of what occurs in Rome by his friend M. Caelius Rufus (Bk. VIII. of these Letters).

50 B.C.

Consuls: C. Claudius Marcellus, cousin of the consul for 51, and L. Aemilius Paullus

§ 1. Cicero, after a satisfactory tenure of office, quits his province, leaving C. Caelius Caldus, his quaestor, in charge, and reaches Rome in December. He is anxious about the honours due to his Cilician successes, having so far only had a *supplicatio* voted him, but no triumph; he is also embarrassed about the marriage of his daughter Tullia with P. Cornelius Dolabella, who was prosecuting for treason Appius Claudius Pulcher, with whom Cicero desired a reconciliation.

§ 2. A motion in the Senate, that Caesar's candidature for the consulship should be considered in his absence, having been rejected, the tribune Scribonius Curio demands the disbanding of Pompey's army, which the Senate would have passed but for

the opposition of the consul Marcellus. Curio openly declares for Caesar, whom he joins at Ravenna, thus, according to Lucan, turning the scales against the Pompeian party (*momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum*).

49 B.C.

Consuls: L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus, cousin of his namesake, the consul for 50, *and brother of the consul for* 51

The tribunes M. Antonius and Q. Cassius, accompanied by Caelius Rufus, leave Rome and join Caesar, who on January 11 crosses the Rubicon, and thereby declares war upon the Republic, and marching southwards finally besieges Pompey in Brundisium. On March 17 Pompey escapes to Dyrrachium, whither the consuls had gone with the bulk of his army on March 4. Cicero vacillates as to his future policy, but finally decides to throw in his lot with Pompey.

48 B.C.

Consuls: C. Julius Caesar (for the second time) and P. Servilius Isauricus

Cicero spends the first half of the year in Pompey's camp at Dyrrachium, where he conceives a poor opinion of Pompey's army; he is still there when he hears of the utter defeat of Pompey by Caesar near Pharsalus on August 7 and his flight to Egypt. Crossing with the Pompeians from Dyrrachium to Corcyra, Cicero is threatened with death by young Cn. Pompey for refusing to take the command as senior consul. In October he returns to Italy and settles in Brundisium.

47 B.C.

Consuls: Q. Fufius Calenus and P. Vatinius, but only for Oct., Nov., and Dec.

§ 1. Though allowed to remain in Italy when all other Pompeians were driven out, Cicero was not happy; he had broken with his brother Quintus, and Terentia (he alleged) had mismanaged his financial affairs in his absence; while Dolabella, his son-in-law, was so notoriously unfaithful to Tullia as to make a divorce inevitable.

§ 2. He was consoled, however, by a reassuring letter from Caesar in Egypt, who permitted him to retain his lictors and the title of *imperator*; on Caesar's return Cicero met him and was cordially received, and being given leave to live wherever he liked, he chose Tusculum, so as to be near Rome.

§ 3. Dolabella, now tribune, agitating for the abolition of debts, is opposed by his colleague, Trebellius, and the ensuing riots had to be quelled by troops under M. Antonius.

§ 4. Towards the end of the year, through Caesar's influence, Q. Fufius Calenus and P. Vatinius are elected consuls.

46 B.C.

Consuls: C. Julius Caesar (third time) and M. Aemilius Lepidus

§ 1. Caesar defeats the Pompeian army under Scipio at Thapsus in Africa, and M. Cato, preferring death to slavery, commits suicide at Utica. Returning to Rome and celebrating four triumphs in August

for his victories in Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa, Caesar is made Dictator for the year.

§ 2. Cicero's letters now show a more cheerful spirit; he had now divorced Terentia, and after a short interval married his young and wealthy ward, Publilia; the marriage, however, was an unhappy one.

§ 3. Cicero wrote this year his *Partitiones oratoriae*, *Brutus*, and *Orator*.

45 B.C.

Consul (fourth time): C. Julius Caesar

§ 1. In February Tullia, shortly after her divorce from Dolabella, died in childbed. Cicero, who had loved her devotedly, refused to be comforted and sought refuge in the solitude of Astura.

§ 2. Caesar now openly aimed at monarchy, and Cicero especially resented, as an insult to the senatorial order, the election as consul for one day of Caninius Rebilus.

44 B.C.

§ 1. Caesar, now consul for the fifth time and dictator for the fourth, had already by his arrogance and ill-concealed ambition aroused the opposition of the republicans, and a conspiracy had long been maturing which culminated in his assassination on March 15 at the foot of Pompey's statue in the senate-house. By his will he adopted C. Octavius and made him his chief heir.

§ 2. On the 17th, at a meeting of the Senate in the temple of Tellus, Cicero proposed an amnesty, which the Senate passed, but at the same time ratified all Caesar's acts. After this he retired into private life for six months.

§ 3. He had already completed his *Tusculan Disputations* and *De natura deorum*, and during the remainder of the year composed his *De amicitia*, *De senectute*, *De officiis*, and several other works.

43 B.C.

Consuls: C. Vibius Pansa and A. Hirtius

After a series of events too complicated even to summarize here,[a] C. Octavius, by then called Octavianus, formed a triumvirate with Antony and Lepidus, who removed their chief opponents by *proscriptio*. Among the proscribed was Cicero, who was slain on December 7th, when he was approaching the end of his sixty-fourth year.

[a] A full note on the Cisalpine Campaign will be found at the beginning of Book X.

CICERO'S
LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

BOOKS XIII–XVI

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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NOTE ON CICERO'S "LITTERAE COMMENDATICIAE" IN BOOK XIII

Letters of recommendation are to be found scattered here and there throughout Cicero's correspondence, but Book xiii. (with the single exception of *Ep.* 68, addressed to Servilius Isauricus) consists of nothing else. There are seventy-nine letters in the Book, and of these seventy-eight are commendatory of either communities or individuals.

The great bulk of them were written in 46 B.C., a few in 45, and a few in previous years. Why so many of these letters should have been written in 46 is an interesting question, on which Cicero's position at the time may throw some light.

In 47 B.C. Cicero had received a reassuring letter from Caesar (from whom he had little to hope after the battle of Pharsalia in 48), permitting him to retain his lictors and the title of *Imperator*. When Caesar landed at Tarentum about September 25, Cicero hastened to meet him, was graciously received, and allowed to choose his own place of residence; he elected to live at Tusculum. (See Chron. Summ. for 47 B.C.)

During this and the following year Cicero was perhaps happier than he ever had been since his entry into public life. He was still on good terms with Caesar, whose generosity to himself he freely ad-

mitted, and who, he hoped, might yet re-establish the Republic; he had divorced Terentia, whom he suspected of extravagance and dishonesty; he had married his young and wealthy ward Publilia, and had not yet tired of her; and his beloved daughter Tullia was still living. It was at this time that he composed his *Brutus* and *Orator*, and found leisure to give informal lessons in rhetoric to Hirtius and Dolabella, and his happier mood is reflected in his jocular letters to such congenial friends as Paetus (ix. 16-20).

Moreover, in 46 B.C. Cicero, with his distinguished past and his assured literary eminence (though little more than a spectator in the arena of practical politics), was probably the most widely known and influential personality, next to Caesar himself, in the Roman world. This in itself would account for the increasing numbers of those who sought his good word; and it is reasonable to suppose that the ease of mind and freedom from anxiety he now enjoyed rendered him more responsive to such appeals.

We have thus two plausible explanations of the comparative frequency of his "Litterae Commendaticiae" in this year—the enhanced value of his recommendation, and his greater accessibility to those who applied for it.

Of letters in commendation or defence of communities there are six, viz.: *Epp.* 4, advocating the claims of Volaterrae; 7, Concerning property owned in Gaul by Atella, a municipium of which Cicero was *patronus*; 9, on behalf of the Bithynian Company of the *Publicani*; 11, in defence of property owned in Gaul by his native town Arpinum; 18 B, on behalf of the Lacedaemonians; and 40

on behalf of the Cyprians. These letters afford convincing proof of Cicero's extraordinary public influence and authority, the variety of his interests, and the wide scope of his sympathies.

The remaining seventy-two letters are commendatory of individuals. That they should generally conform to a common type is not surprising. Those who are constantly called upon for "testimonials" know how difficult it is to avoid the repetition of certain stock phrases. Cicero indeed strives, with his usual fluency and felicity, to vary his theme, but even he fails to break the monotony of these letters, of which the following may be taken as a "skeleton" specimen:

"*A is a man to whom I am so much attached that I shall regard whatever you do for him as done for myself. I therefore entreat you with more than ordinary earnestness to do him this particular favour, and to befriend him in every other respect, so far as your integrity (honesty, sense of justice) and your high position permit of it.*" [These words recall the frequent phrase in Buckingham's letters recommending friends to Bacon when Lord Chancellor—"*So far as may stand with justice and equity.*"] Cicero goes on: "*You will find A an excellent fellow, worthy of your friendship, and most grateful for any service you may do him.*" He often, however, discounts the altruism of a letter by adding, with Pepysian candour, "*Pray make it quite clear to A that it was I who induced you to do him this kindness,*" and he sometimes attaches to a recommendation a preconcerted private mark, indicating that it is to receive particular attention.

Insipid and monotonous, however, as these letters

must appear to those who read them *en masse*, they are yet impressive evidence of Cicero's large-hearted *bonhomie*, and his unfailing readiness to do a friend, or even an acquaintance, a good turn; in short, of that *humanitas* which was one of his dominant characteristics.

M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM AD FAMILIARES

LIBER DECIMUS TERTIUS

I

M. CICERO S. D. C. MEMMIO

Athenis, A.U.C. 703.

1 Etsi non satis mihi constiterat, cum aliquane animi mei molestia an potius libenter te Athenis visurus essem, quod iniuria, quam accepisti, dolore me afficeret, sapientia tua, qua fers iniuriam, laetitia,

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[a] Gaius Memmius was of plebeian family, though that family traced its origin to Trojan times and stamped the head of Romulus on their coins. As he served as quaestor in Spain during the war with Sertorius both before and after 77 B.C., he must have been born before 104. In 66 he opposed the triumph of L. Lucullus, and as praetor in 58 he strenuously resisted Caesar's laws. In 57 he was propraetor of Bithynia, where he won the title of *imperator*, but failed, according to Catullus (x. 9-13, and xxviii.), to promote the pecuniary interests of his staff, of whom Catullus was one. In 54 he sought the Consulship, and was even supported by Caesar, whose favour he again lost by disclosing some scandal in the election, and was himself accused of bribery. To save himself he accused of bribery Metellus Scipio, father-in-law of Pompey, but was forced to drop the accusation, and went into exile at Athens. Here, by a decree

CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

BOOK XIII

I

CICERO GREETS GAIUS MEMMIUS [a]

Athens, June or July, 51 B.C.

THOUGH I had not quite made up my mind whether 1
I was going to meet you at Athens with a certain feeling of distress or rather with pleasure (since, grieved as I was at the injustice you have suffered, I rejoiced at the philosophical spirit with which you

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of the Areopagus, he obtained possession of a ruinous house, once Epicurus's, intending to pull it down and build on the site, but subsequently abandoned that intention. The Epicureans at Athens wished to get the house back, but Memmius refused to give it up, and quarrelled about it with Patro, the head of the Epicurean Society. When Cicero visited Athens on his way to Cilicia, Patro begged him to get the house from Memmius, who had now gone to Mitylene. Hence this letter, written, as Cicero tells Atticus, with care (*accurate*).

But Memmius's chief claim to distinction is that it was to him that Lucretius addressed his great poem *De Rerum Natura*. Munro remarks that on all the coins of the Memmii we find Venus crowned by Love, and this gives special point to Lucr. i. 26-27:

> Memmiadae nostro, quem *tu*, *dea*, tempore in omni
> omnibus ornatum voluisti excellere rebus.

tamen vidisse te mallem. Nam quod est molestiae, non sane multo levius est, cum te non video; quod esse potuit voluptatis, certe, si vidissem te, plus fuisset. Itaque non dubitabo dare operam, ut te videam, cum id satis commode facere potuero. Interea, quod per litteras et agi tecum et, ut arbitror, confici
2 potest, agam nunc. Ac te illud primum rogabo, ne quid invitus mea causa facias; sed id, quod mea intelleges, tua nullam in partem multum interesse, ita mihi des, si tibi, ut id libenter facias, ante persuaseris. Cum Patrone Epicureo mihi omnia sunt; nisi quod in philosophia vehementer ab eo dissentio. Sed et initio Romae, cum te quoque et tuos omnes observabat, me coluit in primis, et nuper, cum ea, quae voluit, de suis commodis et praemiis consecutus est, me habuit suorum defensorum et amicorum fere principem; et iam a Phaedro, qui nobis, cum pueri essemus, antequam Philonem cognovimus, valde ut philosophus, postea tamen, ut vir bonus et suavis et officiosus probabatur, traditus mihi commendatusque
3 est. Is igitur Patro cum ad me Romam litteras misisset, uti te sibi placarem peteremque, ut nescio quid illud Epicuri parietinarum sibi concederes, nihil

bear it), for all that I should prefer to have seen you. For as far as the distress goes, it is not very much alleviated when you are out of my sight; whereas whatever pleasure was possible would have been undoubtedly enhanced by my having seen you. I shall not hesitate, therefore, to make every effort to see you, if I can do so with any reasonable convenience. Meanwhile, whatever business can be discussed with you and, as I believe, settled by correspondence, that I will discuss here.

And first of all I shall make this request of you— 2
to do nothing for my sake against your will; but if you perceive that what I ask is of importance to me, while of no great importance from any point of view to yourself, not to grant me even that favour unless you have previously persuaded yourself to do so with your whole heart.

With Patro the Epicurean I am in complete accord, except that I emphatically disagree with him in philosophy. But not only in the early days at Rome, while he showed deference to you too and all your friends, did he cultivate my acquaintance in a special degree, but lately also, when he realized all his wishes in the way of privileges and rewards, he regarded me as practically the leading man among his defenders and friends; and now again he has been introduced and recommended to me by Phaedrus, of whom, when I was a boy, before I knew Philo, I entertained a high opinion as a philosopher, but afterwards as an honest, amiable, and obliging man.

This Patro, then, sent me a letter when I was at 3
Rome, asking me to make his peace with you, and beg of you to yield possession to him of some tumble-down house or other (you know it), which once belonged to

scripsi ad te ob eam rem, quod aedificationis tuae consilium mea commendatione nolebam impediri. Idem, ut veni Athenas, cum idem, ut ad te scriberem, rogasset, ob eam causam impetravit, quod te abiecisse illam aedificationem constabat inter omnes
4 amicos tuos. Quod si ita est, et si iam plane tua nihil interest, velim, si qua offensiuncula facta est animi tui perversitate aliquorum (novi enim gentem illam), des te ad lenitatem, vel propter tuam summam humanitatem vel etiam honoris mei causa. Equidem, si quid ipse sentiam quaeris, nec cur ille tanto opere contendat video, nec cur tu repugnes, nisi tamen multo minus tibi concedi potest, quam illi, laborare sine causa. Quamquam Patronis et orationem et causam tibi cognitam esse certo scio. Honorem, officium, testamentorum ius, Epicuri auctoritatem, Phaedri obtestationem, sedem, domicilium, vestigia summorum hominum, sibi tuenda esse dicit. Totam hominis vitam rationemque, quam sequitur in philosophia, derideamus licet, si hanc eius contentionem volumus reprehendere. Sed mehercules, quando illi ceterisque, quos illa delectant, non valde inimici sumus, nescio an ignoscendum sit huic, si tanto opere

[a] Probably a *clique* of Epicurean extremists.
[b] *i.e.*, Memmius is too important a person to be troubled with such trifles.

Epicurus; but I wrote nothing to you for the simple reason that I did not want your scheme of building to be interfered with by any recommendation of mine. But when he also asked me, on my arrival at Athens, to write to you to the same effect, he had his request granted to him for no other reason than because your friends were unanimously agreed that you had thrown to the winds all that building scheme of yours.

If that is so, and it is now of absolutely no im- 4
portance to you, I should like you, if your feelings have been ever so slightly hurt by the wrong-headedness of certain persons (I know that coterie[a]), to allow yourself to incline towards leniency, whether because of your own exceptional kindliness, or even as a compliment to myself.

For my part, if you ask me what my own opinion is, I fail to see either why he is so obstinately set upon it, or why you are so stoutly opposing him, except, of course, that one could far less easily allow *you* than *him* to be so needlessly troubled.[b]

And yet I am well aware that you know all about Patro's petition and the merits of his case. He avers that he must keep intact his own honour and responsibility, the sanctity of testamentary dispositions, the authority of Epicurus, the solemn injunction of Phaedrus, the residence, the domicile, the very footprints of the most illustrious men. If we are inclined to find fault with the object of his present efforts, we may as well make mock of the poor fellow's whole life and the principles he follows in philosophy. But, on my oath, since I bear no particular grudge against the great man and those others who are fascinated by such doctrines, I think perhaps that we ought to forgive Patro, if he is so much troubled;

laborat: in quo etiamsi peccat, magis ineptiis quam
5 improbitate peccat. Sed ne plura (dicendum enim aliquando est), Pomponium Atticum sic amo, ut alterum fratrem. Nihil est illo mihi nec carius nec iucundius. Is (non quo sit ex istis; est enim omni liberali doctrina politissimus; sed valde diligit Patronem, valde Phaedrum amavit) sic a me hoc contendit, homo minime ambitiosus, minime in rogando molestus, ut nihil umquam magis; nec dubitat, quin ego a te nutu hoc consequi possem, etiam si aedificaturus esses. Nunc vero, si audierit, te aedificationem deposuisse, neque tamen me a te impetrasse, non te in me illiberalem, sed me in se neglegentem putabit. Quamobrem peto a te, ut scribas ad tuos, posse tua voluntate decretum illud Areopagitarum, quem ὑπομνηματισμόν illi vocant,
6 tolli. Sed redeo ad prima. Prius velim tibi persuadeas, ut hoc mea causa libenter facias, quam ut facias. Sic tamen habeto: si feceris, quod rogo, fore mihi gratissimum.

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[a] ὑπομνηματισμός was the recognized term for a decree of the Areopagus, which in the time of Cicero was the chief administrative body in Athens.

even if he is mistaken in being so, it is a mistake due to lack of sense more than lack of morality.

But to waste no more words (I must say it sooner 5
or later), I love Pomponius Atticus as a second brother. He is to me the dearest and most delightful man in the world. Now Atticus—not that he is one of that lot, being a man of most refined erudition in every branch of liberal learning, but he *has* a great esteem for Patro, and *had* a great affection for Phaedrus—Atticus, I say, the least self-seeking of men, and the least importunate in making requests, entreats me to do this with as much earnestness as he has ever evinced; and he has no doubt that I could get you to grant him this favour by a single nod, even if it were still your intention to build. Now, however, if he hears that you have abandoned that intention, and that even so I have failed to get from you what I want, he will not suspect you of shabbiness to me, but me of lack of consideration for him. And that is why I beg of you to write to your friends, saying that with your full consent that decree of the Areopagites, which they themselves call a *mémoire*,[a] may be rescinded.

But I return to what I said at first. Before per- 6
suading yourself to do this at all, I would have you persuade yourself to do it readily, as a kindness to myself. Anyhow, let me tell you this—if you do what I ask, it will give me the greatest pleasure.

II

CICERO MEMMIO S.

Laodiceae, (?) A.U.C. 704.

C. Aviano Evandro, qui habitat in tuo sacrario, et ipso multum utor, et patrono eius M. Aemilio familiarissime. Peto igitur a te in maiorem modum, quod sine tua molestia fiat, ut ei de habitatione accommodes. Nam propter opera instituta multa multorum subitum est ei remigrare Kal. Quint. Impedior verecundia, ne te pluribus verbis rogem; neque tamen dubito, quin, si tua nihil aut non multum intersit, eo sis animo quo ego essem, si quid tu me rogares. Mihi certe gratissimum feceris.

III

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. MEMMIO

Laodiceae, (?) A.U.C. 704.

A. Fufium, unum ex meis intimis, observantissimum studiosissimumque nostri, eruditum hominem et summa humanitate tuaque amicitia dignissimum, velim ita tractes, ut mihi coram recepisti. Tam gratum mihi id erit, quam quod gratissimum. Ipsum praeterea summo officio et summa observantia tibi in perpetuum devinxeris.

[a] A freedman of M. Aemilius Avianius (xiii. 27). He was a distinguished sculptor, and Cicero had dealings with him (vii. 23. 1).

[b] Avianius was permitted by Memmius to work in the shrine in which the Memmii celebrated their *sacra gentilicia*.

[c] Nothing more is known of this man.

II

CICERO TO MEMMIUS

Laodicea, May (?), 50 B.C.

I am on intimate terms with C. Avianius Evander[a] himself, who is lodging in your family shrine,[b] and very much so with his patron M. Aemilius. I therefor beg of you, with more earnestness than usual, so far as it can be done without inconvenience to yourself, to accommodate him in the matter of his residence. For he has so many commissions on hand for a number of people that it would hurry him to have to move to his old quarters on July 1. My modesty prevents me from preferring my request at greater length, and yet I doubt not that, if it makes little or no difference to you, you will be as obliging as I should be, were you to make any request of me. At any rate you will have done me a great favour.

III

CICERO TO MEMMIUS

Laodicea, 50 B.C.

A. Fufius,[c] one of my most intimate friends, shows me the greatest deference and devotion. He is an accomplished man and exceedingly kind-hearted, and in every way worthy of your friendship. I should be glad if you would treat him as you promised to do when we met. That will give me as much pleasure as anything in the world. You will besides bind the man himself to you for ever by the strongest ties of obligation and respect.

IV

M. T. C. S. D. Q. VALERIO Q. F. ORCAE, LEG. PROPRAET.

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Cum municipibus Volaterranis mihi summa necessitudo est. Magno enim meo beneficio affecti, cumulatissime mihi gratiam rettulerunt; nam nec in honoribus meis nec in laboribus umquam defuerunt. Cum quibus si mihi nulla causa intercederet, tamen, quod te vehementissime diligo, quodque me a te plurimi fieri sentio, et monerem te et hortarer, ut eorum fortunis consuleres, praesertim cum prope praecipuam causam haberent ad ius obtinendum; primum, quod Sullani temporis acerbitatem, deorum immortalium benignitate, subterfugerunt; deinde, quod summo studio populi Romani a me in consulatu
2 meo defensi sunt. Cum enim[1] tribuni plebis legem iniquissimam de eorum agris promulgavissent, facile senatui populoque Romano persuasi, ut eos cives, quibus fortuna pepercisset, salvos esse vellent. Hanc actionem meam C. Caesar primo suo consulatu in

[1] *Added by Victorius.*

IV

CICERO TO Q. VALERIUS ORCA [a]

Rome, autumn, 45 B.C.

M. T. Cicero warmly greets Q. Valerius Orca, son of Quintus, legate with rank of Praetor.

I have the closest possible connexion with the 1
townsmen of Volaterrae. Having received some considerable kindness at my hands, they have proved their gratitude to me in overflowing measure; for never once have they failed me either in my triumphs or in my troubles. And indeed, had no such relations been in existence between us, nevertheless, in view of my own warm affection for you and my appreciation of your very high esteem for me, I should both advise and exhort you to promote their best interests, especially as their claim to have their rights maintained is practically paramount, first because by the mercy of heaven they succeeded in escaping the barbarities of the days of Sulla,[b] and secondly because my defence of them in my consulship was enthusiastically applauded by the people of Rome.

For when the tribunes of the plebs [c] proposed a 2
most iniquitous law about their lands, I had no difficulty in persuading the Senate and people of Rome to be willing that those citizens, whom fortune had spared, should retain their rights. This policy of mine was heartily approved in the land-law of his first consulship by C. Caesar,[d] who freed the district and

[a] Orca had been praetor in 57, and supported the recall of Cicero. In 56 he was governor of Africa (xiii. 6A. 2). He was now one of the Land Commissioners for carrying out Caesar's allotments of land to his veterans. This and the following letter show the difficulties which confronted the Commissioners.

[b] Volaterrae, in Etruria, was besieged and captured by Sulla for having given shelter to some of those who had been proscribed. Sulla declared their lands confiscated and their Roman citizenship annulled, but the Roman courts refused to recognize the deprivation of citizenship, and the lands were never confiscated. Watson and Tyrrell.

[c] Rullus and Flavius.

[d] Caesar would favour the Volaterrans as representing the proscribed Marians.

lege agraria comprobavit agrumque Volaterranum et oppidum omni periculo in perpetuum liberavit, ut mihi dubium non sit, quin is, qui novas necessitudines adiungat, vetera sua beneficia conservari velit. Quamobrem est tuae prudentiae aut sequi eius auctoritatem, cuius sectam atque imperium summa cum tua dignitate secutus es, aut certe illi integram omnem causam reservare. Illud vero dubitare non debes, quin tam grave, tam firmum, tam honestum municipium tibi tuo summo beneficio
3 in perpetuum obligari velis. Sed haec, quae supra scripta sunt, eo spectant, ut te horter et suadeam. Reliqua sunt, quae pertinent ad rogandum, ut non solum tua causa tibi consilium me dare putes, sed etiam, quod mihi opus sit, me a te petere et rogare. Gratissimum igitur mihi feceris, si Volaterranos omnibus rebus integros incolumesque esse volueris. Eorum ego domicilia, sedes, rem, fortunas, quae a dis immortalibus et a praestantissimis in nostra republica civibus, summo senatus populique Romani studio, conservatae sunt, tuae fidei, iustitiae bonitati-
4 que commendo. Si pro meis pristinis opibus facultatem mihi res hoc tempore daret, ut ita defendere possem Volaterranos, quemadmodum consuevi tueri meos, nullum officium, nullum denique certamen, in

town of Volaterrae from any such danger for all time; so that I have no doubt that one who is seeking to acquire new connexions wishes that the privileges he granted long ago should be preserved. For that reason it is for you, in your wisdom, either to follow the authority of one whose party and authority you have already, with no impairment of your high personal position, followed, or at all events to keep the whole case open for Caesar's decision. Of this, however, you should entertain no doubt—that it should be your desire, by bestowing upon it the highest favour in your power, to attach to yourself for all time a municipality so respectable, so staunch, and so honourable.

In what I have written above I have no other 3
object in view than to urge and persuade you. There remains what is concerned with a personal request, so that you may infer that I am not only offering you advice for your own sake, but that I am also making a petition and a request for what I have need of myself. You will do me the greatest possible favour therefore, if it is your pleasure to leave the people of Volaterrae in every respect untouched and their rights undiminished. Their domiciles and abodes, their property and estates, preserved to them by the immortal gods and the most eminent members of our commonwealth—all these I commend to your honesty, sense of justice, and goodness of heart.

Were circumstances to offer me at the present 4
moment the power, on the scale of my former resources, to protect the people of Volaterrae to the same extent as I have always defended my own people, there is no act of devotion, no strenuous

quo illis prodesse possem, praetermitterem. Sed quando apud te nihilo minus hoc tempore valere me confido, quam valuerim semper apud omnes, pro nostra summa necessitudine parique inter nos et mutua benevolentia abs te peto, ut ita de Volaterranis mereare, ut existiment, eum quasi divino consilio isti negotio praepositum esse, apud quem unum nos, eorum perpetui defensores, plurimum valere possemus.

V

M. T. C. S. P. D. Q. VALERIO Q. F. ORCAE, LEG. PROPRAET.

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Non moleste fero eam necessitudinem, quae mihi tecum est, notam esse quam plurimis; neque tamen ob eam causam (quod tu optime existimare potes) te impedio, quo minus susceptum negotium, pro tua fide et diligentia, ex voluntate Caesaris, qui tibi rem magnam difficilemque commisit, gerere possis. Nam cum multi a me petant multa, quod de tua erga me voluntate non dubitent, non committo, ut ambitione
2 mea conturbem officium tuum. C. Curtio ab ineunte

effort, I should omit, whereby I might be of service to them. But since I am confident that I have no less influence with you at the present moment than I have always had with everybody, I beg of you in the name of our very close connexion and our mutual goodwill, so evenly balanced between us, to serve the people of Volaterrae in such a way as to give them the impression that, as if by some divine providence, the man who has been put at the head of the commission on which you are now engaged is the very man of all others with whom I, their unfailing defender, could exercise the greatest possible influence.

V

CICERO TO VALERIUS ORCA

Rome, autumn, 45 B.C.

M. T. Cicero warmly greets Q. Valerius Orca, son of Quintus, legate with rank of Praetor.

I have no objection to any number of people being 1
aware of the close relationship between us; and yet I would not for that reason (and you can best appreciate what I say) hinder you from being able to conduct the business you have undertaken with your usual probity and thoroughness, and to the satisfaction of Caesar, who has entrusted you with a commission as important as it is difficult; for though I am besieged by petitions from a host of men because they confidently rely upon your goodwill towards me, I am not so inconsiderate as to embarrass you in the performance of your duty by any self-seeking on my own account.

aetate familiarissime sum usus. Eius et Sullani temporis iniustissima calamitate dolui, et cum iis, qui similem iniuriam acceperant, amissis omnibus fortunis, reditus tamen in patriam voluntate omnium concedi videretur, adiutor incolumitatis fui. Is habet in Volaterrano possessionem, cum in eam, tamquam e naufragio, reliquias contulisset. Hoc autem tempore eum Caesar in senatum legit, quem ordinem ille, ista possessione amissa, tueri vix potest. Gravissimum autem est, cum superior factus sit ordine, inferiorem esse fortuna; minimeque convenit, ex eo agro, qui Caesaris iussu dividatur, eum moveri, qui
3 Caesaris beneficio senator sit. Sed mihi minus libet multa de aequitate rei scribere, ne causa potius apud te valuisse videar, quam gratia. Quamobrem te in maiorem modum rogo, ut C. Curti rem meam putes esse; quidquid mea causa faceres, ut, id C. Curti causa cum feceris, existimes, quod ille per me habuerit, id me habere abs te. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

[a] Nothing more is known of this C. Curtius.

I have been on very intimate terms with C. 2
Curtius[a] from the days of our youth. Not only did I resent his most unjust degradation in Sulla's time, but when it appeared that those who had suffered similar wrong, though they had lost all their fortunes, were yet permitted by universal consent to return to their country, I have assisted in his rehabilitation.

Now Curtius has a holding in the territory of Volaterrae into which, just as though he had been shipwrecked, he had collected all that was left to him. But just at this moment Caesar has chosen him to be a member of the Senate—a rank, which, if he loses that holding of his, he cannot easily maintain. Now it is very hard upon him that, though he has been raised higher as regards rank, he should be in a lower position as regards means; and it is shockingly inconsistent that the very man who is a senator by Caesar's favour should be ejected from land that is being distributed by Caesar's order.

But I am less inclined to write at any length on the 3
equity of the case, for fear it should be thought that what strengthened my hands in pleading with you was not so much my personal influence as the justice of my plea. I therefore beg you, with more than usual urgency, to regard C. Curtius's affair as my own; and in whatever you do for my sake, although you may have done it for C. Curtius's sake, to believe that any favour he obtains through me is a favour conferred upon me by yourself. This I beg of you again and again in all earnestness to do.

VIA

M. T. C. S. P. D. Q. VALERIO Q. F. ORCAE PROCOS.

Romae, A.U.C. 698.

1 Si vales, bene est, valeo. Credo te memoria tenere, me et coram P. Cuspio tecum locutum esse, cum te prosequerer paludatum, et item postea pluribus verbis tecum egisse, ut, quoscumque tibi eius necessarios commendarem, haberes eos in numero meorum necessariorum. Id tu pro tua summa erga me benevolentia perpetuaque observantia mihi liberalissime
2 atque humanissime recepisti. Cuspius, homo in omnes suos officiosissimus, mirifice quosdam homines ex ista provincia tuetur et diligit, propterea quod fuit in Africa bis cum maximis societatis negotiis praeesset. Itaque hoc eius officium, quod adhibet erga illos, ego mea facultate et gratia soleo, quantum possum, adiuvare. Quare Cuspianorum omnium commendationis causam hac tibi epistula exponendam putavi. Reliquis epistulis tantum faciam, ut notam apponam eam, quae mihi tecum convenit, et simul
3 significem, de numero esse Cuspi amicorum. Sed hanc commendationem, quam his litteris consignare volui, scito esse omnium gravissimam. Nam P.

[a] Chronologically, this letter precedes *Epp.* 4 and 5, in which Cicero drops the formal opening (S.V.B.E.) which he uses here.
[b] Only mentioned in this letter and in xvi. 17. 2.
[c] It was customary for a magistrate to wear his *paludamentum* (general's cloak) when proceeding to his province. *Cf.* xv. 17. 3. Tyrrell.
[d] See Preliminary Note *ad fin.*

VIA [a]

CICERO TO VALERIUS ORCA, PROCONSUL.

Rome, about the middle of 56 B.C.

M. T. Cicero warmly greets Q. Valerius Orca, son of Quintus, Proconsul.

If you are well, all is right; I am well. I believe 1
it is within your recollection that I said something to you in the presence of P. Cuspius,[b] as I was escorting you when in your official uniform,[c] and that afterwards also I pleaded with you at greater length, to reckon among my own connexions any whom I might recommend to you as being his. That, consistently with your sincere affection for me and the respect you have invariably shown me, you very handsomely and courteously undertook to do for me.

Now Cuspius, a man most ready to help all those 2
associated with him, shows an amazingly benevolent interest in certain persons within your province, because he has twice been in Africa, presiding over the highly important negotiations of his society. And so I am in the habit of supporting, with such resources and influence as I can, this readiness to help which he displays towards them. I therefore thought it incumbent upon me to explain to you in this letter the reason why I recommend all the friends of Cuspius. In future letters I shall do no more than append the mark agreed upon between you and me, and indicate at the same time that it is one of Cuspius's friends.[d]

But as for the recommendation I have been willing 3
to sign in this letter, I would have you know that it is more important than any; for Cuspius has urged me

Cuspius singulari studio contendit a me, ut tibi quam diligentissime L. Iulium commendarem. Eius ego studio vix videor mihi satisfacere posse, si utar verbis iis, quibus, cum diligentissime quid agimus, uti solemus. Nova quaedam postulat, et putat me eius generis artificium quoddam tenere. Ei ego pollicitus sum me ex intima nostra arte deprompturum mirificum genus commendationis. Id quoniam assequi non possum, tu re velim efficias, ut ille genere mearum litterarum incredibile quiddam
4 perfectum arbitretur. Id facies, si omne genus liberalitatis, quod et ab humanitate et potestate tua proficisci poterit, non modo re, sed etiam verbis, vultu denique exprompseris; quae quantum in provincia valeant, vellem expertus esses, sed tamen suspicor. Ipsum hominem, quem tibi commendo, perdignum esse tua amicitia, non solum, quia mihi Cuspius dicit, credo (tametsi id satis esse debebat), sed quia novi eius iudicium in hominibus et amicis
5 deligendis. Harum litterarum vis quanta fuerit, propediem iudicabo, tibique, ut confido, gratias agam. Ego, quae te velle, quaeque ad te pertinere arbitrabor, omnia studiose diligenterque curabo. Cura, ut valeas.

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[a] *Sc.* "te mox experturum esse."

with exceptional earnestness to recommend to you with the utmost possible particularity one L. Julius. I hardly think I can satisfy his eagerness by using such words as I usually do, even when dealing with anything most impressively. He insists upon something out of the common, and imagines that I possess a certain artistry in that style. Well, I have promised him to fetch up from the depths of my art a style of recommendation that will amaze him. Being unable to reach that standard, I should be glad if you would so act as to give him the impression that the effect of my style of letter has been something beyond all belief.

This you will do if you exhibit every form of 4
generosity which your kindness of heart and your official opportunities can suggest, not only in deed but also in word, and, let me add, even in look. How important these things are in a province, I only wish you knew by experience—I have an inkling, however, that you soon will.[a]

As to the subject of my recommendation himself, I believe him to be thoroughly worthy of your friendship, not only because Cuspius tells me so (though that ought to be enough), but also because I know Cuspius's shrewdness in estimating men and choosing his friends.

What effect this letter has produced I shall be able 5
to judge at an early date, and I feel sure I shall have to thank you. For my part, I shall attend with zeal and assiduity to whatever I think that you desire, or that effects your interests. Mind you keep well.

VIb

CICERO VALERIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 698.

P. Cornelius, qui tibi has litteras dedit, est mihi a P. Cuspio commendatus; cuius causa quanto opere cuperem deberemque, profecto ex me facile cognosti. Vehementer te rogo, ut cures, ut ex hac commendatione mihi Cuspius quam maximas, quam primum, quam saepissime gratias agat. Vale.

VII

M. T. C. S. P. D. CLUVIO

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Cum in Galliam proficiscens pro nostra necessitudine tuaque summa in me observantia ad me domum venisses, locutus sum tecum de agro vectigali municipi Atellani, qui esset in Gallia; quantoque opere eius municipi causa laborarem, tibi ostendi. Post tuam autem profectionem, cum et maxima res municipi honestissimi mihique coniunctissimi, et summum meum officium ageretur, pro tuo animo in

[a] Not the banker at Puteoli, who died earlier in this year (*Att.* xiii. 46), but probably the Cluvius who was Caesar's *praefectus fabrum* in Spain in the early part of this year.

[b] Atella was in Campania, between Naples and Capua. It was there that the *fabulae Atellanae* (popular farces or Harlequinades) were first produced.

Another instance of a Latin municipality owning property

VIb

CICERO TO VALERIUS ORCA

Rome, sometime in 56 B.C.

P. Cornelius, who delivers this letter to you, has been recommended to me by P. Cuspius; and how much it is my desire, as it is my duty, to do for his sake, I am sure you have easily recognized from what I have said. I earnestly beg of you to see to it that the thanks I receive from Cuspius as a result of this recommendation may be as cordial, as prompt, and as frequent as possible.

VII

CICERO TO GAIUS CLUVIUS [a]

Rome, autumn, 45 B.C.

When on setting out for Gaul, in accordance with 1
our intimacy and your extreme courtesy towards myself, you visited me at my house, I spoke to you about the land in Gaul which paid rent to the municipality of Atella,[b] and I showed you how greatly distressed I was on that municipality's account. Since your departure, however, when a question arose of vital importance to that municipality, most honourable as it is and very closely connected with myself—a question too of the performance of my own duty in the highest sense,—I thought it incumbent on me, considering your extraordinary kindness to me, to

in a distant land is Arpinum, which held land in Gaul (xiii. 11. 1).

me singulari existimavi, me oportere ad te accuratius scribere; etsi non sum nescius, et quae temporum ratio, et quae tua potestas sit, tibique negotium datum esse a C. Caesare, non iudicium, praeclare intellego. Quare a te tantum peto, quantum et te facere posse, et libenter mea causa facturum esse
2 arbitror. Et primum velim existimes, quod res est, municipi fortunas omnes in isto vectigali consistere; his autem temporibus hoc municipium maximis oneribus pressum, summis affectum esse difficultatibus. Hoc etsi commune videtur esse cum multis, tamen mihi crede singulares huic municipio calamitates accidisse: quas idcirco non commemoro, ne, de miseriis meorum necessariorum conquerens, homines,
3 quos nolo, videar offendere. Itaque, nisi magnam spem haberem, C. Caesari nos causam municipi probaturos, non erat causa, cur a te hoc tempore aliquid contenderem. Sed quia confido mihique persuasi, illum et dignitatis municipi, et aequitatis, etiam voluntatis erga se habiturum esse rationem, ideo a te non dubitavi contendere, ut hanc causam
4 illi integram conservares. Quod etsi nihilominus a te peterem, si nihil audivissem te tale fecisse, tamen maiorem spem impetrandi nactus sum, posteaquam

[a] Tyrrell thinks these must be the partisans of Caesar, who seem to have acted harshly.

write to you with greater particularity—although of course I am fully aware how you are circumstanced and how far your powers extend, and distinctly understand that what Caesar has assigned to you is not so much judicial discretion, as the transaction of a definite business. For that reason I confine myself to asking you to do what I believe you have both the power and the will to do, for my sake.

And first of all I would have you bear in mind— 2
and it is the fact—that the rent in question comprises the whole wealth of the municipality, and moreover, that as things now are, this same municipality is oppressed with very heavy burdens and involved in very serious difficulties. Although it would appear that such evils are shared with many others, still you must accept my assurance that the disasters suffered by this municipality are exceptional: and the reason I do not specify them is my fear lest by lamenting the misfortunes of those personally connected with me I should offend people I do not wish to offend.[a]

It follows that unless I had strong hopes of our 3
establishing the cause of the municipality with C. Caesar, there was no reason why I should make any such urgent request of you at the present time. But because I feel sure and have convinced myself that he will give full consideration to the fair claims of the municipality and the justice of its plea, and also to its friendliness towards himself, for that reason, I say, I have not hesitated to urge you to keep this case open for his decision.

But although, even if I had never heard of your 4
doing anything of the kind, I should none the less make this request of you, still my hope of obtaining it has been strengthened since I was told that you had

mihi dictum est, hoc idem a te Regienses impetravisse. Qui etsi te aliqua necessitudine attingunt, tamen tuus amor in me sperare me cogit, te, quod tuis necessariis tribueris, idem esse tributurum meis, praesertim cum ego pro his unis petam, habeam autem, qui simili causa laborent, complures necessarios. Hoc me non sine causa facere, neque aliqua levi ambitione commotum a te contendere, etsi te existimare arbitror, tamen mihi affirmanti credas velim, me huic municipio debere plurimum ; nullum umquam fuisse tempus neque honorum neque laborum meorum, in quo non huius municipi studium
5 in me exstiterit singulare. Quapropter a te etiam atque etiam, pro nostra summa coniunctione proque tua in me perpetua et maxima benevolentia, maiorem in modum peto atque contendo, ut, cum fortunas agi eius municipi intellegas, quod sit mihi necessitudine, officiis, benevolentia coniunctissimum, id mihi des ; quod erit huiusmodi, ut, si a Caesare, quod speramus, impetrarimus, tuo beneficio nos id consecutos esse iudicemus ; sin minus, pro eo tamen id habeamus, cum a te data sit opera, ut impetraremus. Hoc cum mihi gratissimum feceris, tum viros optimos, homines honestissimos eosdemque gratissimos et

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[a] Regium Lepidi, a Roman colony on the *Via Aemilia*, between Mutina and Parma.

[b] In other words, "if we obtain what we hope for from Caesar, we shall give you all the credit; if not, we shall have instead the pleasure of knowing that you did your best, *i.e.*, we shall be indebted to you in either case."

granted the same request to the inhabitants of Regium[a]; and although they are attached to you by a certain connexion, yet I am impelled by your affection for me to hope that you will grant those connected with me the same favour as you have granted to those connected with yourself, especially as I am pleading for these people exclusively, whereas I have several others connected with me, who are in a similar sad plight. Now, although I credit you with believing that I am not doing this without good reason, and not pressing you under the influence of some paltry spirit of self-seeking, nevertheless I should like you to believe me when I asseverate that there is no municipality to which I am more deeply indebted ; that there has never been a time either in the days of my triumph or of my trouble when the devotion shown to me by this municipality did not stand out as something wholly out of the common.

And therefore, in view of our very intimate attach- 5
ment and your affection for me, as unfailing as it is remarkable, I entreat and beseech you with more than usual urgency (since you must see that the fortunes of a municipality most closely bound to me by the ties of friendship, mutual services, and goodwill, are at stake), to grant me a favour which will amount to this—I mean that, if we obtain what we hope for from Caesar, we should believe that we have secured it only by your kindness ; if we do not, then at any rate that we should have instead of that the conviction that you did *your* utmost to help us to succeed.[b]

Not only will you have given me the greatest possible pleasure by so doing, but by an inestimable service you will have laid under an everlasting obliga-

tua necessitudine dignissimos, summo beneficio in perpetuum tibi tuisque devinxeris.

VIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. M. RUTILIO

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Cum et mihi conscius essem, quanti te facerem, et tuam erga me benevolentiam expertus essem, non dubitavi a te petere, quod mihi petendum esset. P. Sestium quanti faciam, ipse optime scio, quanti autem facere debeam, et tu et omnes homines sciunt. Is cum ex aliis te mei studiosissimum esse cognosset, petivit a me, ut ad te quam accuratissime scriberem de re C. Albini senatoris, cuius ex filia natus est L. Sestius, optimus adolescens, filius P. Sesti. Hoc idcirco scripsi, ut intellegeres, non solum me pro P. Sestio laborare debere, sed Sestium etiam pro Al-
2 binio. Res autem est haec: a M. Laberio C. Albinius praedia in aestimationem accepit, quae praedia Laberius emerat a Caesare de bonis Plotianis. Ea si dicam non esse e republica dividi, docere te

[a] There is no other reference in these letters to this Rutilius.

[b] Quaestor in 63, and tribune of the plebs in 57, when he strongly supported Cicero's recall; in 56 he was accused of *vis* on account of the violence with which he had opposed P. Clodius in the preceding year, but was defended by Cicero (*Pro Sestio*) and acquitted. His son L. Sestius is the "*O beate Sesti*" in Horace's ode, i. 4.

[c] For *aestimatio* see note to ix. 16. 7.

[d] *Dividere* here, and below, =*divendere*, "to disperse by selling piecemeal," when the original ownership would disappear.

tion to yourself and yours men of excellent character, and thoroughly honourable gentlemen, who are at the same time full of gratitude, and most worthy of being connected with you.

VIII

CICERO TO MARCUS RUTILIUS [a]

Rome, autumn, 45 B.C.

Knowing in my heart how highly I valued you, 1
and having learnt by experience your friendly feeling for me, I have not hesitated to ask that of you which it was my duty to ask. How highly I value P. Sestius [b] is best known to myself; how highly I ought to do so is known both to you and to the world in general. Having been informed by others that you were my very devoted friend, he begged of me to write to you with the utmost particularity about the affair of C. Albinius the senator, whose daughter is the mother of L. Sestius, an admirable young man, son of P. Sestius. My purpose in writing you this letter was to convince you that not only is it right and proper that I should feel anxious on behalf of P. Sestius, but that he also should feel so on behalf of Albinius.

Now the circumstances are these: C. Albinius has 2
received certain estates from M. Laberius at a valuation [c]—estates which Laberius had purchased from Caesar out of the property of one Plotius. If I were to tell you that the dispersal [d] of such properties is not to the public interest, you would think that I am not so much asking a favour of you, as proffering you

videar, non rogare. Sed tamen cum Caesar Sullanas venditiones et assignationes ratas esse velit, quo firmiores existimentur suae, si ea praedia dividentur, quae ipse Caesar vendidit, quae tandem in eius venditionibus esse poterit auctoritas? Sed hoc quale
3 sit, tu pro tua prudentia considerabis. Ego te plane rogo, atque ita, ut maiore studio, iustiore de causa, magis ex animo rogare nihil possim, ut Albinio parcas, praedia Laberiana ne attingas. Magna me affeceris non modo laetitia, sed etiam quodammodo gloria, si P. Sestius homini maxime necessario satisfecerit per me, ut ego illi uni plurimum debeo. Quod ut facias, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Maius mihi dare beneficium nullum potes. Id mihi intelleges esse gratissimum.

IX

M. T. C. S. P. D. CRASSIPEDI

In Cilicia, ad finem A.U.C. 703.

1 Quamquam tibi praesens commendavi, ut potui diligentissime, socios Bithyniae, teque cum mea com-

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[a] *i.e.*, sales and allotments of property confiscated in connexion with proscriptions of Sulla. If not "ratified," Caesar's title to his own estates would be invalidated, and he would have no power to sell them.

[b] The second husband of Tullia, whom he married in 56, and divorced about 53.

[c] The companies (*societates*) of *publicani* undertook State contracts for roads, buildings, etc., but especially for the collection of taxes. Each *societas* generally confined its

instruction. At all events, seeing that Caesar desires the ratification of Sulla's sales and assignments,[a] so that his own may be regarded as more secure, if those very estates which Caesar himself has sold are dispersed, what possible right of property, I ask you, can his sales carry? But you, with your usual penetration, will consider the matter in all its bearings.

I ask you frankly—and I could not do so with 3
more earnestness, in a more righteous cause, or more from my heart—to spare Albinius, and have nothing to do with the estate of Laberius. You will give me not only much pleasure, but also, in a sense, something to boast about, if it turns out that it was I who enabled P. Sestius to satisfy the claims of one so closely connected with him, as *I* owe *him* more than any other man alive. This I beg of you again and again to do. You can grant me no greater favour, and you will find that I appreciate it most highly.

IX

CICERO TO P. FURIUS CRASSIPES [b]

Cilicia, probably towards the end of 51 B.C.

Although when I met you I recommended to you 1
as particularly as I could the Bithynian company,[c] and understood that not only because of my recom-

operations to a single province, or to a particular tax (*decuma*, *scriptura*, *portoria*, etc.), though one *societas* might farm several taxes. Cicero's staunch support of the *equites* was one of the main features of his political life, and the *publicani* were drawn from the *equites*.

mendatione, tum etiam tua sponte intellexi cupere ei societati, quibuscumque rebus posses, commodare, tamen, cum ii, quorum res agitur, magni sua interesse arbitrarentur, me etiam per litteras declarare tibi, qua essem erga ipsos voluntate, non dubitavi haec
2 ad te scribere. Volo enim te existimare, me, cum universo ordini publicanorum semper libentissime tribuerim, idque magnis eius ordinis erga me meritis facere debuerim, tum in primis amicum esse huic Bithynicae societati; quae societas ordine ipso et hominum genere pars est maxima civitatis; constat enim ex ceteris societatibus; et casu permulti sunt in ea societate valde mihi familiares, in primisque is, cuius praecipuum officium agitur hoc tempore, P. Rupilius, P. F. Menenia, qui est magister in ea
3 societate. Quae cum ita sint, in maiorem modum a te peto, Cn. Pupium, qui est in operis eius societatis, omnibus tuis officiis atque omni liberalitate tueare, curesque, ut eius operae (quod tibi facile factu est) quam gratissimae sint sociis, remque et utilitatem sociorum (cuius rei quantam potestatem quaestor habeat, non sum ignarus) per te quam maxime defensam et auctam velis. Id cum mihi gratissimum

[a] The bidding for the contract and the furnishing of security, etc., were carried out by a *manceps* at Rome, but the management was entrusted to an annually elected local director (*magister*), who had charge of the accounts and correspondence. See note *b* on *Ep.* 65. 1.

mendation, but also because that was your own inclination, you were anxious to accommodate that company in any way you could, still when those whose interests are in question thought it of paramount importance to them that I should make it plain to you by letter also how I felt towards them, I have not hesitated to write to you as I do.

I would have you believe that while it has always 2
been the greatest pleasure to me to make much of the order of *publicani* as a whole, and, considering the great services that order has rendered me, it has been my duty to do so, I am in a special sense a friend to this Bithynian company—a company which by the very fact of its connexions with the order in general, and owing to the class of men of whom it is composed, made up as it is of members of all the other companies, constitutes a most important factor in the State; and, as it happens, a large proportion of it are on very intimate terms with myself, especially the man who at this moment occupies the position of its chief, P. Rutilius to wit, son of Publius of the Menenian tribe, who is director[a] of that company.

Such being the case, I entreat you with more than 3
usual urgency to support with every kindness and all your generosity Cn. Pupius, who is in the company's employ, and to see to it that his services (you will find it easy to do so) are as acceptable as possible to the partners, and to show your desire (and how much it is in the power of a quaestor to effect in that connexion, I am well aware) that the property and interests of those partners should prove to have been protected and enhanced as far as possible by your efforts.

feceris, tum illud tibi expertus promitto et spondeo, te socios Bithyniae, si iis commodaris, memores esse et gratos cogniturum.

X

CICERO M. IUNIO BRUTO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Cum ad te tuus quaestor, M. Varro, proficisceretur, commendatione egere eum non putabam. Satis enim commendatum tibi eum arbitrabar ab ipso more maiorum, qui, ut te non fugit, hanc quaesturae coniunctionem liberorum necessitudini proximam voluit esse. Sed cum sibi ita persuasisset ipse meas de se accurate scriptas litteras maximum apud te pondus habituras, a meque contenderet, ut quam diligentissime scriberem, malui facere, quod meus familiaris
2 tanti sua interesse arbitraretur. Ut igitur debere me facere hoc intellegas, cum primum M. Terentius in forum venit, ad amicitiam se meam contulit. Deinde, ut se corroboravit, duae causae accesserunt, quae meam in illum benevolentiam augerent: una, quod versabatur in hoc studio nostro, quo etiam nunc maxime delectamur, et cum ingenio, ut nosti, nec sine industria; deinde, quod mature se contulit in

[a] M. Brutus was now governor of Cisalpine Gaul, as will appear from the next letter, § 1.

[b] Not the great Varro, but a man known as M. Terentius Varro Gibba. As tribune of the plebs in 43, when the great Varro was proscribed he was much laughed at for publishing a notice declaring that he was not that Varro but another (Dio Cassius, xlvii. 11. 3).

Not only will you greatly oblige *me* by so doing, but I also promise you and pledge myself as a result of my own experience, that, if you oblige them, you will find the Bithynian partners neither forgetful nor ungrateful.

X

CICERO TO M. JUNIUS BRUTUS [a]

Rome, early in 46 B.C.

When your quaestor, M. Varro,[b] was setting out to join you, I did not think he required a recommendation. I considered him sufficiently recommended by the practice of our ancestors, which assumed that a quaestor's connexion with his chief closely approximated to that of a son to his father. But since he had convinced himself that a carefully written letter from me would carry the greatest weight with you and pressed me to write with the utmost particularity, I thought it better to do what my friend imagined to be of so much importance to him. 1

To prove to you therefore that it is my duty to do 2
this, from the moment M. Terentius entered the forum [c] he devoted himself to winning my friendship; afterwards, when he had established himself, I found two additional reasons for feeling more warmly disposed towards him; one was that he took up the same pursuit as myself—that which even now gives me most delight—and that with ability, as you know, and with considerable industry; the other was that at an early stage he attached himself to the companies

[c] *i.e.*, began to practise in the law-courts.

societates publicanorum, quod quidem nollem; maximis enim damnis affectus est. Sed tamen causa communis ordinis mihi commendatissimi fecit amicitiam nostram firmiorem. Deinde versatus in utrisque subselliis optima et fide et fama iam ante hanc commutationem reipublicae petitioni sese dedit honoremque honestissimum existimavit fructum laboris sui.

3 His autem temporibus a me Brundisio cum litteris et mandatis profectus ad Caesarem est; qua in re et amorem eius in suscipiendo negotio perspexi, et in conficiendo ac renuntiando fidem. Videor mihi, cum separatim de probitate eius et moribus dicturus fuissem, si prius causam, cur eum tanto opere diligerem, tibi exposuissem, in ipsa causa exponenda satis etiam de probitate dixisse. Sed tamen separatim promitto in meque recipio, fore eum tibi et voluptati et usui. Nam et modestum hominem cognosces, et pudentem, et a cupiditate omni remotissimum, praeterea magni laboris summaeque industriae.

4 Neque ego haec polliceri debeo, quae tibi ipsi, cum bene cognoris, iudicanda sunt; sed tamen in omnibus novis coniunctionibus interest, qualis primus aditus sit, et qua commendatione quasi amicitiae fores aperiantur. Quod ego his litteris efficere volui, etsi id ipsa per se necessitudo quaesturae effecisse debet.

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[a] Either as barrister and juryman, or as counsel for the defence and for the prosecution.

[b] Brought about by Caesar's victory over the Pompeian army at Thapsus. (See Chron. Summ. for 46 B.C.)

which manage State-contracts, and I only wish he hadn't; for he suffered very heavy losses. Be that as it may, his sharing my interest in an order I so highly esteemed tended to strengthen our friendship. Subsequently, after practising as a barrister on both benches [a] with admirable honesty and distinction, just before this transformation of public affairs [b] he became a candidate for public office, which he regarded as the most honourable fruit of his labours.

Moreover, at this crisis he has travelled from Brun- 3
disium with my letter and messages for Caesar; and in that I have had clear proof of his devotion in undertaking the business at all, and of his trustworthiness in carrying it through and reporting to me. It seems to me that, though I had intended dwelling separately on his integrity and character, if I should have fully explained to you why I was so greatly drawn to him, by giving that very explanation I should have dwelt enough upon his integrity also; but for all that I promise and pledge my word in a separate statement that he will be a source of both pleasure and profit to you. You will find him an unassuming and modest fellow, far removed from any thought of self-seeking, and I may add, hard-working and extremely industrious.

Although it is no business of mine to make pro- 4
fessions which you can verify for yourself when you have got to know him well, still in forming any new connexions it is important to consider the details of the first approach, and the value of the recommendation that throws open, so to speak, the door of friendship. That is what I wished to effect by this letter, though indeed the bond of quaestorship should have had that effect of itself. Anyhow the latter consideration

Sed tamen nihilo infirmius illud, hoc addito. Cura igitur, si me tanti facis, quanti et Varro existimat, et ipse sentio, ut quam primum intellegam, hanc meam commendationem tantum illi utilitatis attulisse, quantum et ipse sperarit nec ego dubitarim.

XI

M. T. C. S. P. D. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Quia semper animadverti studiose te operam dare, ut ne quid meorum tibi esset ignotum, propterea non dubito, quin scias, non solum cuius municipi sim, sed etiam quam diligenter soleam meos municipes, Arpinates, tueri. Quorum quidem omnia commoda omnesque facultates, quibus et sacra conficere et sarta tecta aedium sacrarum locorumque communium tueri possint, consistunt in his vectigalibus, quae habent in provincia Gallia. Ad ea visenda pecuniasque, quae a colonis debentur, exigendas totamque rem et cognoscendam et administrandam legatos equites Romanos misimus, Q. Fufidium, Q. F.,
2 M. Faucium, M. F., Q. Mamercum, Q. F. Peto a te in maiorem modum pro nostra necessitudine, ut tibi ea res curae sit, operamque des, ut per te quam commodissime negotium municipi administretur quam primumque conficiatur; ipsosque, quorum nomina

[a] See *Ep.* 7. 1 above, note *b*.

will be no whit weakened by the former. Therefore, if you value me as highly as Varro supposes, and I feel that you do, pray see to it that I have the earliest possible intelligence that this recommendation of mine has proved of as much advantage to him as he himself has hoped, and I have never doubted.

XI

CICERO TO M. BRUTUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

I have always noticed that you take the greatest 1
pains to be informed of anything that concerns my interests, and I have therefore no doubt that you are aware not only to what municipality I belong, but also how conscientiously it is my habit to support my fellow-citizens, the inhabitants of Arpinum. Now it is a fact that all their income and all the means at their disposal for the maintenance of public worship and the repairs of their sacred edifices and public buildings consist in the rents they receive from their estates in the province of Gaul.[a] To visit those estates, to call in the moneys still owed by the tenants, and to investigate and arrange for the management of the whole business, we have sent a commission of Roman knights—Q. Fufidius the younger, M. Faucius the younger, and Q. Mamercus the younger.

In view of our close intimacy, I appeal to you with 2
more than ordinary urgency to charge yourself with the matter, and to do your utmost to see that the business of our town, so far as you yourself are concerned, is managed as happily, and settled as speedily, as possible, and to treat the gentlemen themselves,

scripsi, ut quam honorificentissime pro tua natura et
3 quam liberalissime tractes. Bonos viros ad tuam necessitudinem adiunxeris municipiumque gratissimum beneficio tuo devinxeris; mihi vero etiam gratius feceris, quod cum semper tueri municipes meos consuevi, tum hic annus praecipue ad meam curam officiumque pertinet. Nam constituendi municipi causa hoc anno aedilem filium meum fieri volui, et fratris filium et M. Caesium, hominem mihi maxime necessarium; is enim magistratus in nostro municipio, nec alius ullus creari solet; quos cohonestaris, in primisque me, si res publica municipi tuo studio, diligentia, bene administrata erit. Quod ut facias, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

XII

M. T. C. S. P. D. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Alia epistula communiter commendavi tibi legatos Arpinatium, ut potui diligentissime; hac separatim Q. Fufidium, quocum mihi omnes necessitudines sunt, diligentius commendo, non ut aliquid de illa

[a] *Cf.* § 1 in the next letter.

[b] Three aediles, one of whom apparently administered the finances (*cf. Att.* xv. 15. 1), were the only regular magistrates at Arpinum. (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, x. 5679 and 5682, quoted by How.)

whose names I have given you, as indeed you naturally would, with all possible courtesy and generosity.

You will find that you have added some men of 3
excellent character to the list of your intimate friends, and that by your kindness you have laid under obligation a most grateful municipality, while the gratitude I shall owe you will be even greater, since not only have I always made a practice of protecting the interests of my fellow-townsmen, but this year they claim in a special degree my attention and services. The fact is that this year, with a view to putting the municipality on a sound basis, I have recommended for election my son, and also my brother's son, and M. Caesius,[a] a very intimate friend of mine, as aediles—for aediles are the magistrates, and no others, whom it is customary to elect[b] in our municipality. Now you will have done due honour to them and to myself in particular, if it turns out that the public business of the township has been, thanks to your zealous assiduity, well managed. And this is what I earnestly and again and again beg of you to do.

XII

CICERO TO M. BRUTUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

In another letter I commended to you as earnestly 1
as I could the representatives of the Arpinates *in general*; in this I commend with even greater earnestness Q. Fufidius, to whom I am bound by all sorts of ties, in *particular*, not so as to detract in any

commendatione deminuam, sed ut hanc addam. Nam et privignus est M. Caesi, mei maxime et familiaris et necessari, et fuit in Cilicia mecum tribunus militum; quo in munere ita se tractavit, ut accepisse
2 ab eo beneficium viderer, non dedisse. Est praeterea (quod apud te valet plurimum) a nostris studiis non abhorrens. Quare velim eum quam liberalissime complectare operamque des, ut in ea legatione, quam suscepit contra suum commodum, secutus auctoritatem meam, quam maxime eius excellat industria. Vult enim, id quod optimo cuique natura tributum est, quam maximam laudem cum a nobis, qui eum impulimus, tum a municipio consequi; quod ei continget, si hac mea commendatione tuum erga se studium erit consecutus.

XIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

L. Castronius Paetus, longe princeps municipi Lucensis, est honestus, gravis, plenus offici, bonus plane vir et cum virtutibus, tum etiam fortuna, si quid hoc ad rem pertinet, ornatus; meus autem est familiarissimus, sic prorsus, ut nostri ordinis observet

[a] In Etruria.

way from my former recommendation, but so as to add this to it. He is the stepson of M. Caesius, my most intimate and familiar friend, and he was with me in Cilicia as military tribune; and he so conducted himself in that capacity as to make me feel that I had received a kindness from him rather than conferred one.

He is, moreover—and this carries great weight 2
with you—no enemy to our favourite pursuits. And that is why I would have you welcome him as handsomely as possible, and do all you can to ensure the utmost possible success of his efforts on that commission which he has undertaken, to the detriment of his own convenience, in deference to my authority. It is his desire—and it is the natural characteristic of all good men—to win the highest possible credit, not only for me, who pressed this service upon him, but from the municipality also; and he will succeed in doing so, if, thanks to this recommendation of mine, he enlists your enthusiastic support.

XIII

CICERO TO M. BRUTUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

L. Castronius Paetus, by far the most important member of the municipality of Luca,[a] is an honourable, sterling, and most obliging man, a thoroughly good fellow, and graced not only with all the virtues, but also, if that has anything to do with the matter, with a handsome fortune. Besides he is on very familiar terms with me, so much so indeed that there

neminem diligentius. Quare ut et meum amicum et tua dignum amicitia tibi commendo. Cui quibuscumque rebus commodaveris, tibi profecto iucundum, mihi certe erit gratum. Vale.

XIV

M. T. C. S. P. D. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 L. Titio Strabone, equite Romano in primis honesto et ornato, familiarissime utor. Omnia mihi cum eo intercedunt iura summae necessitudinis. Huic in tua provincia pecuniam debet P. Cornelius. Ea res a Volcatio, qui Romae ius dicit, reiecta in
2 Galliam est. Peto a te hoc diligentius, quam si mea res esset, quo est honestius de amicorum pecunia laborare, quam de sua, ut negotium conficiendum cures. Ipse suscipias, transigas operamque des, quoad tibi aequum et rectum videbitur, ut quam commodissima condicione libertus Strabonis, qui eius rei causa missus est, negotium conficiat ad nummosque perveniat. Id et mihi gratissimum erit, et tu ipse L. Titium cognosces amicitia tua dignissimum. Quod ut tibi curae sit, ut omnia solent esse, quae me velle scis, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

[a] L. Volcatius Tullus, who became consul in 33. This year he was praetor at Rome.

is no member of my order to whom he pays more particular attention. I therefore commend him to you as being both my friend and worthy of your friendship; and whatever you do to oblige him will assuredly give pleasure to yourself, and in any case be a favour to me.

XIV

CICERO TO M. BRUTUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

I am on the most intimate terms with L. Titius 1
Strabo, an eminently honourable and distinguished Roman knight. There is no bond of the closest relationship that does not subsist between us. A sum of money is owing to him in your province from P. Cornelius. The *praetor urbanus* Volcatius [a] has passed on the case for trial in Gaul.

I beg of you all the more earnestly than if the case 2
were my own, in proportion as it is more a point of honour to take pains in the matter of one's friends' money than one's own, to see to it that the business is carried through. Take it on your own shoulders, settle it, and do what you can consistently with what you deem right and proper, to ensure that Strabo's freedman, who has been dispatched for the purpose, may conclude the business on the most favourable terms possible, and get at the money. Not only will that give *me* the greatest pleasure, but you yourself too will find L. Titius fully worthy of your friendship. That you should interest yourself in this matter, as you generally do in everything you know to be my wish, I earnestly beg of you again and again.

XV

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CAESARI IMP.

Asturae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Praecilium tibi commendo unice, tui necessari, mei familiarissimi, viri optimi filium; quem cum adolescentem ipsum propter eius modestiam, humanitatem, animum et amorem erga me singularem mirifice diligo, tum patrem eius re doctus intellexi et didici mihi fuisse semper amicissimum. En, hic ille est [de illis][1] maxime qui irridere atque obiurgare me solitus est, quod me non tecum, praesertim cum abs te honorificentissime invitarer, coniungerem.

> Ἀλλ' ἐμὸν οὔ ποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθεν.

Audiebam enim nostros proceres clamitantes,

> ἄλκιμος ἔσσ', ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀψιγόνων εὖ εἴπῃ.
> ὣς φάτο, τὸν δ' ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα.

2 Sed tamen iidem me consolantur; et iam hominem perustum inani gloria volunt incendere; atque ita loquuntur:

> μὴ μὰν ἀσπουδί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην,
> ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.

[1] *A doubtful insertion, omitted in H. Pal.*

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[a] This letter was written within two months after Tullia's death, and Tyrrell and Purser remark that "it has a strained and unnatural tone of gaiety."

[b] Hom. *Od.* vii. 258.

[c] *Ib.* i. 302.

[d] *Ib.* xxiv. 315. The chieftains cried aloud to Cicero to be brave, but a cloud of woe enveloped him—his remorse for having ever opposed Caesar.

[e] Hom. *Il.* xxii. 304-5.

XV

CICERO GREETS C. JULIUS CAESAR, IMPERATOR

Astura, end of March, 45 B.C.[a]

I most particularly commend to you Praecilius, the son of a very excellent gentleman who is your close, and my own very intimate, friend. I am amazingly fond of the young man himself on account of his sobriety of conduct, his refinement, and his remarkably affectionate feeling for myself; and his father too, as practical experience has taught me and convinced me beyond all doubt, was always my very sincere friend. Why, he was the man who more than anybody used to scoff at and scold me because I did not attach myself to you, especially when you invited me to do so in the most complimentary terms: 1

> But with his words never swayed he the heart that beats in my bosom.[b]

For I heard our chieftains crying aloud:

> "Stand thou undaunted, that men e'en in ages to come may extol thee."[c]
> So spake he, but the other a black cloud of anguish enveloped.[d]

But still those same men offer me comfort, and even now they would set on fire a poor fellow already scorched with the flames of a futile ambition; and this is the sort of thing they say: 2

> Not without effort of mine, and not without fame, would I perish,
> But having done such a deed as will ring through the ages for ever.[e]

Sed minus iam movent, ut vides. Itaque ab Homeri magniloquentia confero me ad vera praecepta Εὐριπίδου·

μισῶ σοφιστήν, ὅστις οὐχ αὑτῷ σοφός·

quem versum senex Praecilius laudat egregie, et ait, posse eumdem et ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσω videre, et tamen nihilominus

αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν, καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.

3 Sed, ut redeam ad id, unde coepi, vehementer mihi gratum feceris, si hunc adolescentem humanitate tua, quae est singularis, comprehenderis, et ad id, quod ipsorum Praeciliorum causa te velle arbitror, addideris cumulum commendationis meae. Genere novo sum litterarum ad te usus, ut intellegeres, non vulgarem esse commendationem.

XVI

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CAESARI IMP.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

1 P. Crassum ex omni nobilitate adulescentem dilexi plurimum; et de eo cum ab ineunte eius aetate perbene[1] speravissem, tum praeclare[2] existimare

[1] *Schütz*: bene *Nobbe*. [2] *Klotz*: per me *Nobbe*.

[a] Eur. Frag. 905, ed. Nauck, p. 652.
[b] Hom. *Il.* i. 343; *Od.* xxiv. 452.
[c] Hom. *Il.* vi. 208; xi. 784. Praecilius seems to have meant that a man may be a "sage," and yet attain pre-eminence in practical life.
[d] Son of the triumvir. He served with distinction as a *legatus* of Caesar in Gaul. He fell with his father at the battle of Carrhae. Cicero eulogized him in *Brut.* 282. *Cf. Fam.* v. 8. 4. His widow Cornelia afterwards became the wife of Pompey.

But they have less effect upon me now, as you see; and so I turn from the grandiloquence of Homer, and betake myself to the practical precepts of Euripides:

The sage, no sage for his own ends, I loathe,[a]

a verse that Praecilius senior enthusiastically applauds, and declares that a man may be able "to see before as well as behind"[b] and yet nevertheless

Ever to prove himself best, and unrivalled to stand above others.[c]

But to return to the point with which I began: you will oblige me very greatly if you extend to this young man the courtesy you possess in so remarkable a degree, and to add to what I imagine you would like to do for the sake of the Praecilii themselves the further weight of my recommendation. 3

I have adopted a new style of letter in writing to you, so that you may understand that this is no stereotyped recommendation.

XVI

CICERO TO JULIUS CAESAR

Rome (?), early in 45 B.C.

Out of all our nobility the young man for whom I have the highest regard is P. Crassus[d]; and while I had entertained great hopes of him from his earliest years, I began to have quite a brilliant impression of 1

coepi, eximiis[1] iudiciis, quae de eo feceras,[2] cognitis. Eius libertum Apollonium iam tum equidem, cum ille viveret, et magni faciebam et probabam. Erat enim et studiosus Crassi, et ad eius optima studia vehementer aptus; itaque ab eo admodum dilige-
2 batur. Post mortem autem Crassi eo mihi etiam dignior visus est, quem in fidem atque amicitiam meam reciperem, quod eos a se observandos et colendos putabat, quos ille dilexisset et quibus carus fuisset. Itaque et ad me in Ciliciam venit multisque in rebus mihi magno usui fuit et fides eius et prudentia, et, ut opinor, tibi in Alexandrino bello, quantum studio et fidelitate consequi potuit, non defuit.
3 Quod cum speraret te quoque ita existimare, in Hispaniam ad te, maxime ille quidem suo consilio, sed etiam me auctore est profectus. Cui ego commendationem non sum pollicitus; non quin eam valituram apud te arbitrarer, sed neque mihi egere commendatione videbatur, qui et in bello tecum fuisset, et propter memoriam Crassi de tuis unus esset, et, si uti commendationibus vellet, etiam per alios eum videbam id consequi posse. Testimonium mei de eo iudici, quod et ipse magni aestimabat, et ego apud te valere eram expertus, ei libenter dedi.
4 Doctum igitur hominem cognovi et studiis optimis

[1] *Klotz*: ex iis *Nobbe*.
[2] *Madvig*: feceram *Nobbe*.

him when the highly favourable opinions you had formed of him became known to me. His freedman Apollonius I used to esteem highly and think well of, even when Crassus was alive; for he was devoted to Crassus, and adapted himself extremely well to his highest pursuits, and was therefore much beloved by him.

After Crassus's death, however, he struck me as 2
being all the more worthy of admittance into my confidence and friendship, inasmuch as he considered it incumbent upon him to pay respect and attention to those whom Crassus had been fond of, and who had won his affection. And so he joined me in Cilicia, and his loyalty and sagacity were of material service to me in many respects, and he never failed you, I imagine, in the Alexandrine war, so far as his zeal and fidelity enabled him to do so.

And, since he hoped that you thought so too, he 3
set out to join you in Spain, mainly, it is true, by your advice, but partly also at my instance. A recommendation, however, I did not promise him—not that I supposed it would carry no weight with you, but it seemed to me that he stood in need of no recommendation at all, seeing that he had been with you during the war, and (since you could never forget Crassus) was numbered among your intimates; and besides, if he desired to avail himself of recommendations, I saw that there were others too through whom he could get what he wanted. This testimony to my opinion of him, which he himself values highly, and which I know by experience carries weight with you, I have gladly given him.

Well then, I have found him to be a man of learning 4
and devoted to the most intellectual pursuits, and

deditum, idque a puero. Nam domi meae cum Diodoto Stoico, homine meo iudicio eruditissimo, multum a puero fuit. Nunc autem, incensus studio rerum tuarum, eas litteris Graecis mandare cupit. Posse arbitror; valet ingenio; habet usum; iam pridem in eo genere studi litterarumque versatur; satisfacere immortalitati laudum tuarum mirabiliter cupiebat. Habes opinionis meae testimonium; sed tu hoc facilius multo, pro tua singulari prudentia, iudicabis. Et tamen, quod negaveram, commendo tibi eum. Quidquid ei commodaveris, erit id maiorem in modum gratum.

XVII

M. T. C. S. P. D. SER. SULPICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 M'. Curius, qui Patris negotiatur, multis et magnis de causis a me diligitur. Nam et amicitia pervetus mihi cum eo est, ut primum in forum venit, instituta, et Patris cum aliquoties antea, tum proxime hoc miserrimo bello domus eius tota mihi patuit; qua si opus fuisset, tam essem usus, quam mea. Maximum

[a] For an account of this eminent jurist and friend of Cicero see note *a* on iv. 1. 1. Sulpicius had recently been appointed Proconsul of Achaia by Caesar, *cf.* iv. 3.

[b] vii. 28 is a letter from Cicero to him, and vii. 29 one from him to Cicero.

that from a boy. For he was constantly at my house from his boyhood in the company of Diodotus the Stoic, in my judgment the most erudite of men. At the present moment, however, fired with enthusiastic admiration of your exploits, he desires to record them in the Greek language. I think he is competent to do so, he has great ability, he has had experience, he has been engaged for some time past in that kind of literary effort, and his eagerness to do justice to the immortal glory of your achievements is quite amazing.

Here then is the considered expression of my opinion; but such is your extraordinary penetration that you will far more easily decide the matter on your own account. And here am I, after all, doing what I said I would not do, in recommending him to you!

Whatever favour you do him will be a more than ordinary gratification to myself.

XVII

CICERO TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS [a]

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

I have many strong reasons for my regard for 1
Manius Curius [b] who has a banking business at Patrae. A friendship of very long standing subsists between us, which began when he first entered the Forum, and at Patrae not only on several previous occasions, but also very lately, during this most lamentable war, his house has been unreservedly thrown open to me; had there been need, I should have used it as my own.

autem mihi vinculum cum eo est quasi sanctioris cuiusdam necessitudinis, quod est Attici nostri familiarissimus eumque unum praeter ceteros observat
2 ac diligit. Quem si tu iam forte cognosti, puto me hoc, quod facio, facere serius. Ea est enim humanitate et observantia, ut eum tibi iam ipsum per se commendatum putem. Quod tamen si ita est, magno opere a te quaeso, ut ad eam voluntatem, si quam in illum ante has meas litteras contulisti, quam maximus
3 postea commendatione cumulus accedat. Sin autem propter verecundiam suam minus se tibi obtulit, aut nondum eum satis habes cognitum, aut quae causa est, cur maioris commendationis indigeat, sic tibi eum commendo, ut neque maiore studio quemquam, neque iustioribus de causis commendare possim. Faciamque id, quod debent facere ii, qui religiose et sine ambitione commendant. Spondebo enim tibi, vel potius spondeo in meque recipio, eos esse M'. Curii mores eamque cum probitatem, tum etiam humanitatem, ut eum et amicitia tua, et tam accurata commendatione, si tibi sit cognitus, dignum sis existimaturus. Mihi certe gratissimum feceris, si intellexero, has litteras tantum, quantum scribens confidebam, apud te pondus habuisse.

The strongest tie that binds us however is one that I may almost call a more sacred relationship—the fact that he is a most intimate friend of my dear Atticus, whom he respects and esteems more than anybody else in the world.

If you happen to have made his acquaintance 2
already, I expect I am too late in doing what I do; for such is his courtesy and civility, that I expect he has already been his own recommendation to you. But even if this be so, I earnestly beg you, that, whatever goodwill you may have shown him before the receipt of this letter, my recommendation, now that you have received it, may as far as possible enhance it.

If, however, his bashfulness has prevented his 3
obtruding himself upon you, or if you are not sufficiently acquainted with him, or if there be any reason for his requiring some stronger recommendation, well, then, I hereby recommend him to you so emphatically that I could not possibly recommend any man with greater enthusiasm or for sounder reasons; and I shall do what those do who submit their recommendations conscientiously and disinterestedly, that is to say, I shall pledge my word to you, or rather give you my promise and solemn undertaking, that such is M'. Curius's character, such his integrity and his kindliness combined, that if you make his acquaintance, you will assuredly deem him worthy both of your friendship and of so elaborate a recommendation. At any rate you will have done me a great favour if I have reason to know that this letter has carried as much weight with you as I felt sure it would when I wrote it.

XVIII

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Non concedam, ut Attico nostro, quem elatum laetitia vidi, iucundiores tuae suavissime ad eum et humanissime scriptae litterae fuerint, quam mihi. Nam etsi utrique nostrum prope aeque gratae erant, tamen ego admirabar magis te, qui, si rogatus, aut certe admonitus, liberaliter Attico respondisses[1] (quod tamen dubium nobis, quin ita futurum fuerit, non erat), ultro ad eum scripsisse, eique nec opinanti voluntatem tuam tantam per litteras detulisse. De quo non modo rogare te, ut eo studiosius mea quoque causa facias, non debeo (nihil enim cumulatius fieri potest, quam polliceris), sed ne gratias quidem agere,
2 quod tu et ipsius causa et tua sponte feceris. Illud tamen dicam, mihi id, quod fecisti, esse gratissimum. Tale enim tuum iudicium de homine eo, quem unice diligo, non potest mihi non summe esse iucundum. Quod cum ita sit, esse gratum necesse est. Sed tamen, cum mihi pro coniunctione nostra vel peccare apud te in scribendo licet, utrumque eorum, quae

[1] *Something, necessary to complete the sentence, has fallen out after* respondisses, e.g., *as Lohmann suggests*, gratum nobis fecisses.

XVIII

CICERO TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

Never shall I admit that that most charming and 1
courteous letter you wrote to him gave our friend Atticus, who, I could see, was in an ecstasy of delight, more pleasure than it gave myself. For though the pleasure it gave us was about equally divided between us, it was I who felt the greater admiration, seeing that you, who, had you been requested or at any rate advised to do so, would have couched your reply to Atticus in handsome terms (and, of course, I had never any doubt that it would have proved so), actually wrote to him spontaneously, and laid at his feet all your abounding goodwill through the medium of a letter. And in this connexion not only ought I to refrain from requesting you to write all the more cordially because I too am interested (for nothing that can be done would exceed the overflowing measure of your promises), but even from thanking you for what you had done both in Atticus's own interest, and of your own free will.

This much, however, I will say, that what you have 2
done is most gratifying to me. For such an opinion on your part of a man who stands alone in my affection cannot but give me the highest degree of pleasure; and that being so, I cannot help but be grateful. But anyhow, since our attachment is so close, that I am privileged even to blunder in a letter to you, I shall do both of the things I declared I

negavi mihi facienda esse, faciam. Nam et ad id, quod Attici causa te ostendisti esse facturum, tantum velim addas, quantum ex nostro amore accessionis fieri potest, et, quod modo verebar tibi gratias agere, nunc plane ago, teque ita existimare volo, quibuscumque officiis in Epiroticis reliquisque rebus Atticum obstrinxeris, iisdem me tibi obligatum fore.

XIX

M. T. C. S. P. D. SER. SULPICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Cum Lysone Patrensi est mihi quidem hospitium vetus, quam ego necessitudinem sancte colendam puto, sed ea causa etiam cum aliis compluribus, familiaritas tanta nullo cum hospite, et ea cum officiis eius multis, tum etiam consuetudine quotidiana sic est aucta, ut nihil sit familiaritate nostra coniunctius. Is cum Romae annum prope ita fuisset, ut mecum viveret, etsi eramus in magna spe, te meis litteris commendationeque diligentissime facturum id quod fecisti, ut eius rem et fortunas absentis tuerere, tamen, quod in unius potestate erant omnia,

[a] Though Cicero speaks somewhat slightingly of Lyso elsewhere (xvi. 4. 2), he seems to have had a very high regard for him; and Lyso himself seems to have been something more than the ordinary "hotel proprietor" which Tyrrell and Mahaffy assume him to have been.

[b] *Hospes*, like the Greek ξένος, originally meant a *stranger*; then it became used for a *guest*, and finally also for a *host*, and which of those two meanings it bears can only be inferred from its context.

Hospitium (ξενία) is the relationship between host and guest, for which we have no one word in English, and which we have to render by some such paraphrase as "the ties of hospitality" or "friendship based on mutual entertainment."

ought not to do. Firstly, I would have you make such an addition to what you have already shown you are about to do for Atticus's sake as it is possible, in view of our mutual affection, to make; and secondly, though a moment ago I was afraid to thank you, I now do so in specific terms, and I would impress this upon you—that by whatever kind offices you put Atticus under an obligation in dealing with affairs in Epirus and elsewhere, for those same services shall I be beholden to you myself.

XIX

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

Between myself and Lyso of Patrae[a] are long- 1
standing ties of hospitality,[b] and such ties should, I think, be religiously fostered. This is of course the case with several others, but never have I been so intimate with any other friend of that type; and so much has that intimacy been increased, not only by many services on his part, but also by our daily intercourse, that we are on the most intimate terms in the world. When he stayed a year at Rome, which practically meant living at my house, although we were in great hopes that, in view of my letter of recommendation, you would be most assiduous in doing what, as a matter of fact, you did—I mean in protecting his estate and possessions—for all that, seeing that one man[c] was all-powerful, and that

[c] The reference of course is to Caesar.

et quod Lyso fuerat in nostra causa nostrisque praesidiis, quotidie aliquid timebamus. Effectum tamen est et ipsius splendore et nostro reliquorumque hospitum studio, ut omnia, quae vellemus, a Caesare impetrarentur; quod intelleges ex iis litteris, quas
2 Caesar ad te dedit. Nunc non modo non remittimus tibi aliquid ex nostra commendatione, quasi adepti iam omnia, sed eo vehementius a te contendimus, ut Lysonem in fidem necessitudinemque tuam recipias, cuius dubia fortuna timidius tecum agebamus, verentes, ne quid accideret eiusmodi, ut ne tu quidem mederi posses; explorata vero eius incolumitate, omnia a te summo studio summaque cura peto. Quae ne singula enumerem, totam tibi domum commendo; in his adulescentem filium eius, quem C. Maenius Gemellus, cliens meus, cum in calamitate exsili sui Patrensis civis factus esset, Patrensium legibus adoptavit; ut eius ipsius hereditatis ius causamque tueare.
3 Caput illud est, ut Lysonem, quem ego virum optimum gratissimumque cognovi, recipias in necessitudinem tuam. Quod si feceris, non dubito quin in eo diligendo ceterisque postea commendando idem, quod ego, sis iudici et voluntatis habiturus. Quod cum fieri vehementer studeo, tum etiam illud vereor, ne, si minus cumulate videbere fecisse aliquid eius causa, me ille neglegenter scripsisse putet, non te

Lyso had been on our side and under our aegis, we were in daily dread of something happening. His own distinction, however, and the hearty support of myself and his other friends of that type have ended in our obtaining from Caesar all we wanted, as indeed you will infer from Caesar's letter to you.

In this letter not only do I make no abatement in 2
the strength of my recommendation to you, as if I had now got all I wanted, but I press you all the more earnestly to admit Lyso into your confidence and intimacy. When his fortunes were in the balance, I felt a little timid in pleading with you, fearing something so serious might happen that not even you could rectify it; but now that his civil status is assured, I beg of you in all earnestness and solicitude to carry out all my requests. To avoid a detailed list of them, I commend to you his whole family, including his young son, whom my client C. Maenius Gemellus, when in the dark days of his exile he was made a citizen of Patrae, adopted according to the laws of that town; I ask you to maintain the rights of his cause in respect of that inheritance.

The main point is that you should admit Lyso, 3
whom I have found to be a most excellent and grateful person, to your close intimacy. If you do so, I have no doubt that, in making much of him and afterwards recommending him to others, you will arrive at the same opinion and conceive the same goodwill towards him as I do. But intensely anxious as I am that this should be done, I am at the same time afraid lest if it appears that in some particular respect you have failed to display a superabundance of energy on his behalf, he may suspect *me* of not having written warmly enough, and not *you* of having forgotten me.

oblitum mei. Quanti enim me faceres, cum ex sermonibus quotidianis meis, tum ex epistulis etiam tuis potuit cognoscere.

XX

CICERO SERVIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

Asclapone Patrensi, medico, utor valde familiariter, eiusque cum consuetudo mihi iucunda fuit, tum ars etiam, quam sum expertus in valetudine meorum; in qua mihi cum ipsa scientia, tum etiam fidelitate benevolentiaque satisfecit. Hunc igitur tibi commendo, et a te peto, des operam, ut intellegat, diligenter me scripsisse de sese, meamque commendationem usui magno sibi fuisse. Erit id mihi vehementer gratum.

XXI

M. T. C. S. P. D. SER. SULPICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 M. Aemilius Avianius ab ineunte adolescentia me observavit semperque dilexit, vir cum bonus, tum perhumanus et in omni genere offici diligendus.

[a] He was a patron of the sculptor C. Avianius Evander mentioned in xiii. 2, and of the C. Avianius Hammonius mentioned in § 2 below. Freedmen generally adopted the *praenomen* and *nomen* of their patron in addition to their own, as did foreigners also when made citizens of Rome through the influence of some great Roman.

For he must have been able to discover how highly you esteem me, not only from my daily talks, but also from your letters.

XX

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

I am on very familiar terms with the physician Asclapo of Patrae, and not only has my intercourse with him been a pleasure to me, but also his skill, which I have tested in the illnesses of my household; at those times he gave me every satisfaction by his medical knowledge, as well as by his trustworthiness and goodness of heart. I therefore recommend him to you, and I beg of you to do what you can to convince him that I have taken special care in writing about him, and that my recommendation has been of substantial service to him. It will be a great gratification to me.

XXI

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

M. Aemilius Avianius[a] has always regarded me 1
with respect and esteem from his earliest youth. He is a good, and at the same time an exceedingly courteous man, and in the performance of every kind of duty worthy of esteem. If I thought he was

Quem si arbitrarer esse Sicyone, et nisi audirem, ibi eum etiam nunc, ubi ego reliqui, Cibyrae commorari, nihil esset necesse, plura me ad te de eo scribere. Perficeret enim ipse profecto suis moribus suaque humanitate, ut sine cuiusquam commendatione diligeretur abs te non minus, quam et a me et a ceteris
2 suis familiaribus. Sed cum illum abesse putem, commendo tibi in maiorem modum domum eius, quae est Sicyone, remque familiarem, maxime Gaium Avianium Hammonium, libertum eius, quem quidem tibi etiam suo nomine commendo. Nam cum propterea mihi est probatus, quod est in patronum suum officio et fide singulari, tum etiam in me ipsum magna officia contulit, mihique molestissimis temporibus ita fideliter benevoleque praesto fuit, ut si a me manumissus esset. Itaque peto a te, ut eum Hammonium et in patroni eius negotio sic tueare, ut eius procuratorem, quem tibi commendo, et ipsum suo nomine diligas, habeasque in numero tuorum. Hominem pudentem et officiosum cognosces, et dignum, qui a te diligatur.

XXII

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 T. Manlium, qui negotiatur Thespiis, vehementer diligo. Nam et semper me coluit diligentissimeque

[a] Situated on the river Asopus in the N.E. of the Peloponnese.

[b] In Phrygia; Cicero left him there when returning home from Cilicia.

at Sicyon[a] and were not informed that he is still staying at Cibyra,[b] where I left him, there would have been no necessity for my writing to you about him at any greater length. For I feel sure that he would succeed by his own character and culture, unaided by anybody's recommendation, in winning your esteem no less than mine, and that of all his other intimate friends.

But, believing him to be away, I commend to you 2
with more than customary earnestness his family (they live in Sicyon) and his private property, and particularly Gaius Avianius Hammonius, his freedman, whom I also commend to you on his own account. For not only has he won my approval by his remarkable sense of duty and loyalty to his patron, but he has also conferred great obligations upon myself, and in the days of my greatest trouble he stood by me as faithfully and affectionately as though it were I who had manumitted him. I therefore beg of you to give that Hammonius not only your support in his patron's business, as being the agent of the man I am recommending to you, but also your regard on his own account, and put him on the list of your friends. You will find him a modest and obliging person, and worthy of your regard.

XXII

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

T. Manlius, who has a banking business at Thespiae, 1
is a man I am extremely fond of; for he has always cultivated my acquaintance and shown me very

observavit, et a studiis nostris non abhorret. Accedit eo, quod Varro Murena magno opere eius causa vult omnia; qui tamen existimavit, etsi suis litteris, quibus tibi Manlium commendabat, valde confideret, tamen mea commendatione aliquid accessionis fore. Me quidem cum Manli familiaritas, tum Varronis studium commovit, ut ad te quam accuratissime
2 scriberem. Gratissimum igitur mihi feceris, si huic commendationi meae tantum tribueris, quantum cui tribuisti plurimum, id est, si T. Manlium quam maxime, quibuscumque rebus honeste ac pro tua dignitate poteris, iuveris atque ornaveris, ex ipsiusque praeterea gratissimis et humanissimis moribus confirmo tibi, te eum, quem soles fructum a bonorum virorum officiis exspectare, esse capturum.

XXIII

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 L. Cossinio, amico et tribuli tuo, valde familiariter utor. Nam et inter nosmet ipsos vetus usus intercedit et Atticus noster maiorem etiam mihi cum Cossinio consuetudinem fecit. Itaque tota Cossini domus me diligit, in primisque libertus eius, L. Cossinius

[a] A. Terentius Varro Murena, son of L. Licinius, was adopted by A. Terentius Varro. A partisan of Pompey, he was pardoned by Caesar. In 22 he conspired against Augustus with Fannius Caepio, and put to death. Dio Cassius (*Liv.* iii. 4) describes him as being offensively and violently outspoken, and Horace appropriately addressed to him his ode on "the golden mean" (*Od.* ii. 10).

By his adoption he became brother to Terentia, wife of Maecena. and also to Proculeius (Hor. *Od.* ii. 2. 5).

marked respect; and he is no enemy to our literary pursuits. I should add that Varro Murena[a] cordially wishes him well in every respect; and Varro, although he had every confidence in the letter he wrote commending Manlius to you, thought none the less that something further would be gained by a recommendation from myself; and not only my intimacy with Manlius, but my anxiety on behalf of Varro, has stimulated me to write to you with the utmost earnestness.

You will oblige me very greatly then if you attach 2
to this recommendation the highest possible importance, in other words, if you promote the interests and honour of T. Manlius as much as possible in whatever respect you can do so consistently with what is honourable and with your own high position; and, moreover, judging by the man's own very grateful and courteous character, I assure you that you will reap the reward you usually expect for services done to men of merit.

XXIII

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

I am on very intimate terms with your friend and 1
fellow-tribesman, L. Cossinius; for not only is there an acquaintance of long standing between us to start with, but the bond that binds me to Cossinius has been strengthened by our friend Atticus. Consequently Cossinius's whole family is fond of me, and especially his freedman, L. Cossinius Anchialus, a

Anchialus, homo et patrono et patroni necessariis,
2 quo in numero ego sum, probatissimus. Hunc tibi ita commendo, ut, si meus libertus esset, eodemque apud me loco esset, quo est apud patronum suum, maiore studio commendare non possem. Quare pergratum mihi feceris, si eum in amicitiam tuam receperis, atque eum, quod sine molestia tua fiat, si qua in re opus ei fuerit, iuveris. Id et mihi vehementer gratum erit, et tibi postea iucundum. Hominem enim summa probitate, humanitate observantiaque cognosces.

XXIV

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Cum antea capiebam ex officio meo voluptatem, quod memineram, quam tibi diligenter Lysonem, hospitem et familiarem meum, commendassem, tum vero, posteaquam ex litteris eius cognovi, tibi eum falso suspectum fuisse, vehementissime laetatus sum, me tam diligentem in eo commendando fuisse. Ita enim scripsit ad me, sibi meam commendationem maximo adiumento fuisse, quod ad te delatum diceret, sese contra dignitatem tuam Romae de te loqui
2 solitum esse. De quo etsi pro tua facilitate et humanitate purgatum se tibi scribit esse, tamen

[a] See xiii. 19.

man very highly thought of by his patron and his
patron's friends, of whom I am one. So warmly do I 2
commend him to you that if he were my own freedman and stood in the same relation to me as he does to his patron, I could not commend him more enthusiastically. You will therefore do me a great favour if you admit him into your friendship, and, if he needs it in any way, give him such assistance as you can without inconvenience to yourself. That will be both gratifying to me and subsequently a pleasure to yourself; for you will find him a man of the highest integrity, most courteous too, and most respectful.

XXIV

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

I previously derived pleasure from an act of kind- 1
ness on my part, when I remembered how warmly I had recommended to you my host and guest and intimate friend Lyso,[a] and now that I have gathered from his letter that he had been falsely suspected by you, I rejoiced exceedingly that my recommendation of him had been so warmly worded. He told me in his letter that my recommendation had been of the greatest assistance to him, because (as he says) a report had reached your ears that he had been in the habit of speaking about you at Rome to the prejudice of your high position.

Now although he writes that, as might have been 2
expected from your good nature and kindliness, he has cleared himself in your eyes, still in the first place,

primum, ut debeo, tibi gratias ago, cum tantum litterae meae potuerunt, ut, his lectis, omnem offensionem suspicionis, quam habueras de Lysone, deponeres; deinde credas mihi affirmanti velim, me hoc non pro Lysone magis, quam pro omnibus scribere, hominem esse neminem, qui umquam mentionem tui sine tua summa laude fecerit. Lyso vero cum mecum prope quotidie esset unaque viveret, non solum, quia me libenter audire arbitrabatur, sed quia libentius ipse loquebatur, omnia mihi tua et facta et
3 dicta laudabat. Quapropter etsi a te ita tractatur, ut iam non desideret commendationem meam, unisque se litteris meis omnia consecutum putet, tamen a te peto in maiorem modum, ut eum etiam atque etiam tuis officiis et liberalitate complectare. Scriberem ad te, qualis vir esset, ut superioribus litteris feceram, nisi eum iam per se ipsum tibi satis esse notum arbitrarer.

XXV

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae. A.U.C. 708.

Hegesaretus Larissaeus, magnis meis beneficiis ornatus in consulatu meo, memor et gratus fuit, meque postea diligentissime coluit. Eum tibi magno

[a] Probably the head of the Pompeian faction in Thessaly.
[b] In Thessaly.

I express my gratitude to you that my letter has had such influence with you that on perusing it you put away from you all the feeling of offence caused by the suspicion you entertained of Lyso; and secondly I would have you believe me when I asseverate that I am writing this not more on Lyso's than on every other man's behalf—that there is no man alive who has ever mentioned your name without praising you up to the skies. As for Lyso, when he was in my company almost every day and lived with me, he used to praise in my presence your every word and deed—not only because it was a pleasure to me to listen, but because it was an even greater pleasure to him to say so.

For that reason, although he is being so treated by 3
you that he no longer desires any recommendation of mine, and imagines that my single letter has enabled him to get all he wants, yet I beg of you with more than usual earnestness to show your appreciation of him by your kind services and generosity. I should write and tell you what sort of a man he is, as I did in previous letters, were I not convinced that he is by this time sufficiently well known to you on his own account.

XXV

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

Hegesaretus[a] of Larissa,[b] whom I honoured with some considerable kindnesses during my consulship, has proved himself neither forgetful nor ungrateful, and has subsequently paid me marked attention. I

opere commendo, ut et hospitem meum et familiarem, et gratum hominem, et virum bonum, et principem civitatis suae, et tua necessitudine dignissimum. Pergratum mihi feceris, si dederis operam, ut is intellegat hanc meam commendationem magnum apud te pondus habuisse.

XXVI

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 L. Mescinius ea mecum necessitudine coniunctus est, quod mihi quaestor fuit. Sed hanc causam, quam ego, ut a maioribus accepi, semper gravem duxi, fecit virtute et humanitate sua iustiorem. Itaque eo sic utor, ut nec familiarius ullo nec libentius. Is quamquam confidere videbatur, te sua causa, quae honeste posses, libenter esse facturum, magnum esse tamen speravit apud te meas quoque litteras pondus habituras. Id cum ipse ita iudicabat, tum pro familiari consuetudine saepe ex me audierat, quam suavis esset inter nos et quanta coniunctio.
2 Peto igitur a te, tanto scilicet studio, quanto intellegis debere me petere pro homine tam mihi necessario et tam familiari, ut eius negotia, quae sunt in Achaia,

[a] L. Mescinius Rufus, one of Cicero's quaestors in Cilicia.

strongly recommend him to you as being a guest and friend of mine with whom I am familiar, a grateful fellow of excellent character, the chief man of his State, and altogether worthy of your intimacy. You will do me a great favour if you make a point of giving him reason to know that this recommendation of mine has had great weight with you.

XXVI

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

The explanation of my close connexion with L. Mescinius[a] is that he was my quaestor. But that reason for intimacy, strong as I have always, in accordance with ancestral tradition, held it to be, he has further justified by his own merits and courtesy. It follows that there is no one with whom I am on more intimate terms, or with more pleasure. Now although he appeared to be confident that you would willingly do what you could for him, without compromising yourself, for his own sake, at the same time he hoped that a letter from me too would have great weight with you. Not only did he think so himself, but he had also (such is the intimacy of our intercourse) often heard me say how delightful and how close is my connexion with you. 1

I therefore entreat you with all that earnestness, believe me, with which I am bound to entreat you on behalf of one so closely connected and intimate with me, to facilitate and expedite the business affairs he has in Achaia (arising from the fact that he 2

ex co, quod heres est M. Mindio, fratri suo, qui Eli[1] negotiatus est, explices et expedias, cum iure et potestate, quam habes, tum etiam auctoritate et consilio tuo. Sic enim praescripsimus iis, quibus ea negotia mandavimus, ut omnibus in rebus, quae in aliquam controversiam vocarentur, te arbitro, et, quod commodo tuo fieri posset, te disceptatore uterentur. Id ut honoris mei causa suscipias, vehementer te
3 etiam atque etiam rogo. Illud praeterea, si non alienum tua dignitate putabis esse, feceris mihi pergratum, si qui difficiliores erunt, ut rem sine controversia confici nolint, si eos, quando cum senatore res est, Romam reieceris. Quod quo minore dubitatione facere posses, litteras ad te a M. Lepido consule, non quae te aliquid iuberent (neque enim id tuae dignitatis esse arbitramur), sed quodam modo
4 quasi commendaticias sumpsimus. Scriberem, quam id beneficium bene apud Mescinium positurus esses, nisi et te scire confiderem et mihi peterem. Sic enim velim existimes, non minus me de illius re laborare, quam ipsum de sua. Sed cum illum studeo quam facillime ad suum pervenire, tum illud laboro, ut non minimum hac mea commendatione se consecutum arbitretur.

[1] *MSS., as also in* N.D. 59: Elide *Lambinus.*

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[a] If a Roman citizen, especially a senator, complained against a subject or subject community, the governor could order the latter to appear either personally or by counsel (*ecdici*) at Rome. The transference of the case to Rome, which entailed much expense, was a hardship to the provincials, who generally preferred to compromise.

[b] Caesar and Lepidus were consuls in 46.

is heir to his cousin M. Mindius, who was a banker at Elis) by means not only of your lawful powers but also of your weighty influence and advice. For my instructions to those to whom I entrusted those business affairs were as follows : " that in anything brought forward as admitting of any dispute they should employ you to arbitrate, and (so far as it could be done without inconveniencing you) to settle the case once for all." This I press you again and again to undertake to do in the interests of my honour.

This too is another great favour you will do me, if 3
you do not consider it incompatible with your position —that if any of those concerned are so obstinately intractable as to having the matter settled without a trial, you should refer them, since a senator is involved in the case, to Rome.[a] And to enable you to do so with the less hesitation, I have in my hands a despatch to you from the consul M. Lepidus,[b] not such as to lay any injunction upon you (that, I consider, would be inconsistent with your position) but which conveys in a sort of way what may be called a recommendation.

I should go on to tell you how sound an investment 4
you would be likely to make in doing Mescinius this favour, were not I sure that you are aware of it, and were it not that this request of mine is really a selfish one ; for I would have you believe that I am no less anxious about his interests than he is himself. But while I desire that he should come by his own with the least possible difficulty, I am also anxious to give him the impression that this recommendation of mine has not been the most negligible factor in his success.

XXVII

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Licet eodem exemplo saepius tibi huius generis litteras mittam, cum gratias agam, quod meas commendationes tam diligenter observes (quod feci in aliis, et faciam, ut video, saepius), sed tamen non parcam operae, et ut vos soletis in formulis, sic ego in
2 epistulis *de eadem re alio modo*. C. Avianius igitur Hammonius incredibiles mihi gratias per litteras egit, et suo et Aemili Aviani, patroni sui, nomine, nec liberalius, nec honorificentius potuisse tractari nec se praesentem nec rem familiarem absentis patroni sui. Id mihi cum iucundum est eorum causa, quos tibi ego summa necessitudine et summa coniunctione adductus commendaveram, quod M. Aemilius unus est ex meis familiarissimis atque intimis maxime necessarius homo et magnis meis beneficiis devinctus, et prope omnium, qui mihi debere aliquid videntur, gratissimus, tum multo iucundius, te esse in me tali voluntate, ut plus prosis amicis meis, quam ego praesens fortasse prodessem, credo, quod magis ego dubitarem, quid illorum causa facerem, quam tu,
3 quid mea. Sed hoc non dubito, quin existimes mihi

[a] A formula used by lawyers, "cum ostenderent eiusdem rei consequendae vias complures esse," "when they indicated that there were several ways of obtaining the same result." Brissonius, quoted by Tyrrell.

[b] This cognomen is added to distinguish him from the more celebrated C. Avianius Evander. See xiii. 21. 2.

XXVII

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

It is excusable to use exactly the same terms over 1
and over again in sending you letters of this kind, thanking you for so punctiliously attending to my recommendations; I have done so in other cases, and shall do so, I foresee, ever so often; but for all that I shall make every effort to do in my letters what you lawyers habitually do in your *formulae*, and that is, "*to put the same case in a different way*."[a]

Well then, C. Avianius, I mean Hammonius,[b] has 2
in a letter to me expressed himself amazingly grateful, in his own name as well as in that of his patron Aemilius Avianius, saying that neither he, who was on the spot, nor the personal affairs of his patron, who was away, could possibly have been dealt with either more generously or with more distinguished consideration. This is a joy to me, in view of the interests of those whom I had been induced by the closest bonds of familiarity and fellowship to commend to you, because M. Aemilius stands alone among all my most intimate associates as my closest friend and most beholden to me for considerable kindnesses, and perhaps the most grateful of those who, I suppose, owe me something; but it is a far greater joy to me that you are so well disposed towards me as to be of more service to my friends than perhaps I should be myself, were I on the spot, because, I imagine, I should be in greater doubt as to what I should do in their interests, than you as to what you should do in mine.

Of this, however, I have no doubt—that you believe 3

esse gratum. Illud te rogo, ut illos quoque gratos homines esse putes; quod ita esse tibi promitto atque confirmo. Quare velim, quidquid habent negoti, des operam, quod commodo tuo fiat, ut te
4 obtinente Achaiam conficiant. Ego cum tuo Servio iucundissime, coniunctissime vivo magnamque cum ex ingenio eius singularique studio, tum ex virtute et probitate voluptatem capio.

XXVIIIA

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Etsi libenter petere a te soleo, si quid opus est meorum cuipiam, tamen multo libentius gratias tibi ago, cum fecisti aliquid commendatione mea, quod semper facis. Incredibile est enim, quas mihi gratias omnes agant, etiam mediocriter a me tibi commendati, quae mihi omnia grata, sed de L. Mescinio gratissimum. Sic enim est mecum locutus, te, ut meas litteras legeris, statim procuratoribus suis pollicitum esse omnia; multo vero plura et maiora fecisse. Id igitur (puto enim etiam atque etiam mihi dicendum esse) velim existimes mihi te fecisse gratis-
2 simum. Quod quidem hoc vehementius laetor, quod ex ipso Mescinio te video magnam capturum voluptatem. Est enim in eo cum virtus et probitas

me to be grateful; and I beg of you to regard them too as not ungrateful; that such is the case I promise and assure you. I would therefore have you do your best, so far as you conveniently can, to enable them to conclude whatever business they have on hand while you are governor of Achaia.

I am living on delightful and most sociable terms 4
with your son Servius, whose ability and incomparable application, not to mention his excellent character and integrity, are a source of extreme pleasure to me.

XXVIIIA

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

Although it is always a pleasure to me to make a 1
request of you, if any of my friends want anything, it is a far greater pleasure to thank you when you have done something on my recommendation, and you are always doing so. For you could not believe how cordially they all thank me, yes, even those I have only moderately recommended; and this is gratifying to me in every case, but most gratifying of all in the case of L. Mescinius; for this is what he told me in conversation—that as soon as ever you read my letter you promised his agents all they wanted, but that in number and importance your deeds went far beyond your words. I would therefore have you believe (and I think I ought to say so again and again) that what you have done has been a great gratification to me.

And I rejoice at this all the more heartily because 2
I foresee that you will get a great deal of enjoyment out of Mescinius himself; you will find in him a man

et summum officium summaque observantia, tum studia illa nostra, quibus antea delectabamur, nunc etiam vivimus. Quod reliquum est, velim augeas tua in eum beneficia omnibus rebus, quae te erunt dignae; sed duo quidem te nominatim rogo: primum, ut, si quid satisdandum erit, AMPLIUS EO NOMINE NON PETI, cures, ut satisdetur fide mea; deinde, cum fere consistat hereditas in iis rebus, quas avertit Oppia, quae uxor Mindi fuit, adiuves, ineasque rationem, quemadmodum ea mulier Romam perducatur. Quod si putarit illa fore, ut opinio nostra est, negotium conficiemus. Hoc ut assequamur, te vehementer

3 etiam atque etiam rogo. Illud, quod supra scripsi, id in me recipio, te ea, quae fecisti Mescini causa, quaeque feceris, ita bene collocaturum, ut ipse iudices, homini te gratissimo, iucundissimo benigne fecisse. Volo enim, ad id, quod mea causa fecisti, hoc etiam accedere.

XXVIIIB

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Nec Lacedaemonios dubitare arbitror, quin ipsi sua maiorumque suorum auctoritate satis commendati sint fidei et iustitiae tuae, et ego, qui te

of virtue and integrity, most willing to serve you and most respectful, and at the same time devoted to those literary pursuits which were formerly my amusement, but are now my very life. For the future I would have you even increase your favours to him in any way that is worthy of you. Two requests indeed I make of you specifically: first, that if any security has to be given "against any further claims on that score," you should see to it that I am held responsible for that security; secondly, since his inheritance practically consists of property fraudulently appropriated by Oppia, who was the wife of Mindius, you should come to his assistance, and take steps to ensure that lady's safe-conduct to Rome. If she once realizes that it will be so, it is my opinion that the business will be settled; and that is the object I earnestly beg of you again and again to enable us to attain.

What I wrote above I take upon myself to guarantee—that in what you have done and will do for Mescinius you will make so profitable an investment as to compel your independent conviction that the recipient of your favours is a very grateful and a very charming man. I would add this also as a sort of corollary to what you have done for me. 3

XXVIIIB

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

I do not suppose that the Lacedaemonians are in any doubt as to their having been already sufficiently recommended to your sense of loyalty and justice by their own high claims and those of their ancestors, nor 1

optime novissem, non dubitavi, quin tibi notissima et iura et merita populorum essent. Itaque cum a me peteret Philippus Lacedaemonius, ut tibi civitatem commendarem, etsi memineram, me ei civitati omnia debere, tamen respondi, commendatione Lace-
2 daemonios apud te non egere. Itaque sic velim existimes, me omnes Achaiae civitates arbitrari, pro horum temporum perturbatione, felices, quod his tu praesis; eumdemque me ita iudicasse,[1] te, quod unus optime nosses non nostra solum, sed etiam Graeciae monumenta omnia, tua sponte amicum Lacedaemoniis et esse et fore. Quare tantum a te peto, ut, cum ea facies Lacedaemoniorum causa, quae tua fides, amplitudo, iustitia postulabit, iis,[2] si tibi videbitur, significes, te non moleste ferre, quod intellegas ea, quae facias, mihi quoque grata esse. Pertinet enim ad officium meum, eos existimare, curae mihi suas res esse. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

XXIX

M. T. C. S. D. L. PLANCO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Non dubito, quin scias, in iis necessariis, qui tibi a patre relicti sunt, me tibi esse vel coniunctissimum,

[1] *Wesenberg*: indicare *Nobbe and MSS.*
[2] postulabit, iis *Wesenberg*: postulat ut his *Nobbe.*

[a] Plancus (for whom see note *a* on x. 1) was now serving with Caesar in Africa.

have I myself, because I know you so very well, ever doubted that you were thoroughly acquainted with the rights and merits of nationalities. And so, when asked by Philippus, the Lacedaemonian, to recommend that state to you, although I remembered that I was under every obligation to that state, yet I replied that the Lacedaemonians stood in no need of any recommendation with you.

I would therefore have you believe that I con- 2
sider all the states of Achaia, in view of the disturbed state of the times, happy in having you for their governor, and I have, moreover, convinced myself that you, because you are better acquainted than any living man, not only with our own history, but also with the whole history of Greece, are now, and ever will be, of your own choice a friend to Lacedaemonians. For that reason I merely beg of you, when you do for the Lacedaemonians all that your conscience, dignity, and sense of justice shall demand, to convey to them, if you please, the impression that it is by no means disagreeable to you to feel that what you do will be gratifying also to myself. Indeed, it touches my sense of duty that they should be made to believe that I charge myself with their interests. This I earnestly beg of you again and again to do.

XXIX

CICERO TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS [a]

Rome, early in 46 B.C.

I have no doubt you are aware that among the 1
intimate friends bequeathed to you by your father,

non his modo causis, quae speciem habent magnae coniunctionis, sed iis etiam, quae familiaritate et consuetudine tenentur, quam scis mihi iucundissimam cum patre tuo et summam fuisse. Ab his initiis noster in te amor profectus auxit paternam necessitudinem, et eo magis, quod intellexi, ut primum per aetatem iudicium facere potueris, quanti quisque tibi faciendus esset, me a te in primis coeptum esse observari, coli, diligi. Accedebat non mediocre vinculum cum studiorum, quod ipsum est per se grave, tum eorum studiorum earumque artium, quae per se ipsae eos, qui voluntate eadem sunt,
2 etiam familiaritate devinciunt. Exspectare te arbitror, haec tam longe repetita principia quo spectent. Id primum ergo habeto, non sine magna iustaque causa hanc a me commemorationem esse factam. C. Ateio Capitone utor familiarissime. Notae tibi sunt varietates meorum temporum. In omni genere et honorum et laborum meorum et animus et opera et auctoritas et gratia, etiam res familiaris, C. Capitonis praesto fuit et paruit et temporibus et fortunae meae.
3 Huius propinquus fuit T. Antistius; qui cum sorte quaestor Macedoniam obtineret, neque ei successum esset, Pompeius in eam provinciam cum exercitu

[a] Notorious for having published prodigies of ill omen when Crassus was setting out for Syria; he was always an opponent of the Triumvirs.

I am quite the most closely attached to you, not only on such grounds as give the appearance of close attachment, but on those also which are established by familiarity and intercourse; and my intercourse with your father was, as you are aware, in the fullest sense as agreeable as it was close. That was the origin of my affection for you, which has enhanced this hereditary association, and all the more so because I realized that as soon as your years enabled you to form an estimate as to the regard in which you should hold each of your acquaintances, it was I who began to be the special object of your respect, esteem, and affection. Then there was added the bond (no slight one), not only of common pursuits—a bond which carries weight of itself—but also of such pursuits and accomplishments as firmly unite men of identical tastes in what becomes intimacy as well.

You are curious to know, I am sure, what is the 2
drift of a preamble that stretches so far back. Well then, let me immediately assure you that I have not entered into this recapitulation of facts without good and sufficient reason. I am on very intimate terms with C. Ateius Capito.[a] The vicissitudes of my fortunes are familiar to you. In every phase of my career, whether distinguished or distressful, C. Capito has ever been at hand to help me with his courage, energy, influence, popularity, and even his purse, and to obey the call of every crisis in my fortunes.

He had a relative, one T. Antistius; and when 3
this man was holding Macedonia as quaestor according to lot, and had not yet been succeeded, Pompey arrived in that province with an army. Antistius

venit. Facere Antistius nihil potuit. Nam, si potuisset, nihil ei fuisset antiquius, quam ad Capitonem, quem ut parentem diligebat, reverti, praesertim cum sciret, quanti is Caesarem faceret semperque fecisset. Sed oppressus tantum attigit negoti, quan-
4 tum recusare non potuit. Cum signaretur argentum Apolloniae, non possum dicere eum praefuisse, neque possum negare adfuisse, sed non plus duobus an tribus mensibus. Deinde abfuit a castris; fugit omne negotium. Hoc mihi ut testi velim credas; meam enim ille maestitiam in illo bello videbat, mecum omnia communicabat. Itaque abdidit se in intimam Macedoniam, quo potuit longissime a castris, non modo ut non praeesset ulli negotio, sed etiam ut ne interesset quidem. Is post proelium se ad hominem necessarium, A. Plautium, in Bithyniam contulit. Ibi eum Caesar cum vidisset, nihil aspere, nihil acerbe dixit. Romam iussit venire. Ille in morbum continuo incidit, ex quo non convaluit. Aeger Corcyram venit; ibi est mortuus. Testamento, quod Romae Paullo et Marcello consulibus fecerat, heres ex parte dimidia et tertia est Capito; in sextante sunt ii, quorum pars, sine ulla cuiusquam querella, publica potest esse; ea est ad HS |$\overline{\text{xxx}}$|. Sed de hoc Caesar
5 viderit. Te, mi Plance, pro paterna necessitudine,

[a] Of Pharsalia in 48 B.C. [b] *i.e.*, in 50 B.C.
[c] *i.e.*, 3000 *sestertia*, about £27,000.

could do nothing. Had he been able to do so, nothing would have been more to his advantage than to return to Capito, whom he loved as a father, especially as he knew how highly Capito was, and always had been, esteemed by Caesar. But, taken by surprise as he was, he only engaged in such business as he could not possible evade.

When silver was being stamped at Apollonia, I 4
cannot say that he presided over the business, nor can I deny that he was on the spot, but it could only have been for two (or was it three ?) months. After that he absented himself from the camp, and ran away from all business. I would have you take my word for this as being that of a witness, since, seeing how despondent I was during that war, he used to talk everything over with me. So he hid himself away in the heart of Macedonia, as far from the camp as he possibly could, so as to avoid not only taking a leading part in any transaction, but even taking any part in it at all. After the battle[a] he retired into Bithynia, where he joined an intimate friend of his, one A. Plautius. When Caesar saw him there, he said nothing harsh, nothing bitter, but simply ordered him to Rome. Immediately after that Antistius contracted an illness from which he never recovered. He was a sick man when he reached Corcyra, and there he died. By a will which he had made at Rome in the consulship of Paullus and Marcellus,[b] Capito was made heir to five-sixths of his estate; those who came in for one-sixth are men whose share can be confiscated without a word of complaint from anybody; it amounts to 3,000,000 sesterces.[c] But that is for Caesar to see to.

Now I ask you, my dear Plancus, in the name of 5

pro nostro amore, pro studiis et omni cursu nostro totius vitae simillimo, rogo (et a te ita peto, ut maiore cura, maiore studio nullo possim), ut hanc rem suscipias ; meam putes esse ; enitare, contendas, efficias, ut mea commendatione, tuo studio, Caesaris beneficio, hereditatem propinqui sui C. Capito obtineat. Omnia, quae potui in hac summa tua gratia ac potentia a te impetrare, si petiissem, ultro te ad me
6 detulisse putabo, si hanc rem impetravero. Illud fore tibi adiumento spero, cuius ipse Caesar esse optimus iudex potest : semper Caesarem Capito coluit et dilexit. Sed ipse huius rei testis est ; novi hominis memoriam. Itaque nihil te doceo ; tantum tibi sumito pro Capitone apud Caesarem, quantum ipsum
7 meminisse senties. Ego, quod in meipso experiri potui, ad te deferam. In eo quantum sit ponderis, tu videbis. Quam partem in republica causamque defenderim, per quos homines ordinesque steterim, quibusque munitus fuerim, non ignoras. Hoc mihi velim credas : si quid fecerim hoc ipso in bello minus ex Caesaris voluntate (quod intellexi[1] scire ipsum Caesarem, me invitissimum fecisse), id fecisse aliorum

[1] *Tyrrell, with most editors*: intellexerim *Nobbe*.

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[a] *i.e.*, the senatorial and the equestrian.

our hereditary connexion, our mutual affection, our common pursuits, and the close resemblance of our whole lives throughout their course (and I could not make this request with more solicitude and earnestness than I do), to account the matter mine, to spare no effort, no endeavour, and so to bring it about that through my recommendation, your own assiduity, and the kindness of Caesar, Capito may make good his claim to his relative's legacy. If I prevail upon you to do this, I shall consider that you have bestowed upon me unasked all the favours I might have prevailed upon you to grant me, had I but sought them, in this, the zenith of your popularity and power.

I hope that this fact will be of assistance to you— 6
a fact of which Caesar himself can best judge—that Capito has consistently respected and esteemed Caesar. But Caesar himself can testify to this ; I know what a memory he has. I have therefore no instructions to give you ; but in speaking to Caesar on Capito's behalf you must limit what you take upon yourself to say to what you perceive to be within Caesar's own recollection.

For my own part, I shall just lay before you what I 7
have been able to prove by personal experience ; the significance of it you will see for yourself. What side and what cause I have always championed in politics, what individuals and what orders [a] in the State have enabled me to hold my ground, and by whom I have been protected—all that you know perfectly well. Now I would have you take my word for this—that if in this very war I did anything in the slightest degree offensive to Caesar (and I was aware that Caesar himself knew that I did so with the utmost reluctance),

consilio, hortatu, auctoritate; quod fuerim moderatior temperatiorque, quam in ea parte quisquam, id me fecisse maxime auctoritate Capitonis; cuius similes si reliquos necessarios habuissem, reipublicae fortasse
8 nonnihil, mihi certe plurimum profuissem. Hanc rem, mi Plance, si effeceris, meam de tua erga me benevolentia spem confirmaveris, ipsum Capitonem, gratissimum, officiosissimum, optimum virum, ad tuam necessitudinem tuo summo beneficio adiunxeris.

XXX

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

1 L. Manlius est Sosis. Is fuit Catinensis: sed est, una cum reliquis Neapolitanis, civis Romanus factus decurioque Neapoli; erat enim ascriptus in id municipium ante civitatem sociis et Latinis datam. Eius frater Catinae nuper mortuus est. Nullam omnino arbitramur de ea hereditate controversiam eum habiturum, et est hodie in bonis. Sed, cum habet praeterea negotia vetera in Sicilia sua, et hanc hereditatem fraternam, et omnia eius tibi commendo, in primisque ipsum virum optimum mihique familiarissi-

[a] He was a *legatus* of Caesar, and was in command at Oricum in 48. Some time between 48 and 45 (it is not clear when) he was proconsul of Sicily. Cicero refers with gratitude to Acilius's kindness to him during his unhappy year at Brundisium; but Acilius had reason to be grateful to Cicero for having twice successfully defended him *de capite* (vii. 30. 3).

[b] *i.e.*, before 90 B.C., when the full Roman citizenship was offered them by L. Julius Caesar.

that I did by the advice and at the urgent instance of others; but in so far as I showed more moderation and self-restraint than anybody else on that side, I did so mainly at the instance of Capito; and had the others with whom I was closely associated been like him, I should perhaps have benefited the commonwealth to some extent, and should at any rate have benefited myself very greatly.

If you succeed in doing what I ask, my dear 8
Plancus, you will confirm my anticipations of your kindly feeling for myself, and also bind Capito, that most grateful, obliging, and excellent of men, in the bonds of friendship to yourself by your own signal good service.

XXX

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL[a]

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

There is a certain L. Manlius Sosis. He was for- 1
merly a citizen of Catina, but together with the other Neapolitans he was made a Roman citizen, and is in the Senate at Naples, having been enrolled in that municipality before the citizenship was granted to allies and Latins.[b] This man's brother has lately died at Catina. I do not think that he will find that there is any dispute about the inheritance here, and he is to-day in full possession of his goods. But since he has besides business matters of long standing to attend to in his native Sicily, I commend to your notice both this inheritance from his brother, and all his interests, and in particular the man himself, as a most excellent fellow and a most intimate friend of mine,

mum, his studiis litterarum doctrinaeque praeditum,
2 quibus ego maxime delector. Peto igitur abs te, ut eum, sive aderit, sive non venerit in Siciliam, in meis intimis maximeque necessariis scias esse, itaque tractes, ut intellegat, meam sibi commendationem magno adiumento fuisse.

XXXI

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

1 C. Flavio, honesto et ornato equite Romano, utor valde familiariter. Fuit enim generi mei, C. Pisonis, pernecessarius, meque diligentissime observat et ipse et L. Flavius, frater eius. Quapropter velim honoris mei causa, quibus rebus honeste et pro tua dignitate poteris, quam honorificentissime et quam liberalissime C. Flavium tractes. Id mihi sic erit gratum, ut
2 gratius esse nihil possit. Sed praeterea tibi affirmo (neque id ambitione adductus facio, sed cum familiaritate et necessitudine, tum etiam veritate), te ex C. Flavi officio et observantia, et praeterea splendore atque inter suos gratia, magnam voluptatem esse capturum. Vale.

[a] M. Brutus's *praefectus fabrum*, who was killed at Philippi. It was this Flavius who suggested to Atticus that the *equites* should raise a fund in support of the tyrannicides, and Brutus blamed Atticus for refusing to accept the suggestion. See *Ad Brut.* i. 17. 3 and i. 6. 4.

[b] C. Piso Frugi, Tullia's first husband.

blessed too with those tastes in literature and learning which give me most pleasure.

I beg of you then to recognize that, whether he is 2
on the spot or has not yet arrived in Sicily, the man is among my most intimate and closest associates, and so to treat him as to give him reason to believe that my recommendation has been of material assistance to him.

XXXI

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

I am on very familiar terms with C. Flavius,[a] an 1
honourable and distinguished Roman knight; for he was a very intimate friend of my son-in-law, C. Piso,[b] and both he himself and his brother L. Flavius show me most marked respect. For that reason I should like you, as a compliment to myself, to treat C. Flavius in the most complimentary and generous manner possible, in whatever respect you can do so without prejudice to your honour and position. That will give me more pleasure than anything you could possibly do.

But I further assure you (and this I do impelled by 2
no interested motive, but by our close intimacy and friendship, and even by truth itself) that C. Flavius's obliging and respectful demeanour, and moreover his distinction and popularity among his own friends, will be a source of great pleasure to you.

XXXII

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

1 In Halesina civitate tam lauta tamque nobili coniunctissimos habeo et hospitio et familiaritate M. et C. Clodios, Archagathum et Philonem. Sed vereor ne, quia complures tibi praecipue commendo, exaequare videar ambitione quadam commendationes meas. Quamquam a te quidem cumulate satisfit et
2 mihi et meis omnibus. Sed velim sic existimes, hanc familiam et hos mihi maxime esse coniunctos vetustate, officiis, benevolentia. Quamobrem peto a te in maiorem modum, ut his omnibus in rebus, quantum tua fides dignitasque patietur, commodes. Id si feceris, erit mihi vehementissime gratum.

XXXIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

Cn. Otacilio Nasone utor familiarissime, ita prorsus, ut illius ordinis nullo familiarius. Nam et humanitate eius et probitate in consuetudine quotidiana magno opere delector. Nihil iam opus est exspectare te,

[a] In the middle of the N. coast of Sicily. Having been the first Sicilian state to join the Romans in the First Punic War, it was favourably treated in the settlement of the island.

[b] *i.e.*, "I meant no reflection upon *you* in what I have just said; no, *you* always regard my recommendations as genuine, and respond accordingly."

[c] *i.e.*, the equestrian order.

XXXII

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

In the community of Halesa[a]—and a highly refined 1
and distinguished community it is—I am closely united by bonds of both hospitality and intimacy with the two Clodii, M. Archagathus and C. Philo. But I am afraid that, because I am *most particularly* recommending so many people to you, I may be suspected of making all my recommendations equally strong as a sort of bid for popularity—though indeed, as far as you are concerned, both I and all my friends are abundantly satisfied with what you do.[b]

But I would really have you believe that this 2
family, and these members of it, are very closely bound to me by long-standing friendship, and mutual services, and goodwill. For that reason I beg of you with more than ordinary earnestness to do all you can for them in every possible way, so far as your honour and position permit. If you do so, I shall be extremely grateful.

XXXIII

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

I am on very familiar terms with Cn. Otacilius Naso—indeed as much so as with any member of that order.[c] I am immensely delighted both with his kindliness and his integrity in our daily intercourse. So now there is no need for your waiting to see what words

quibus eum verbis tibi commendem, quo sic utar, ut scripsi. Habet is in provincia tua negotia, quae procurant liberti, Hilarus, Antigonus, Demostratus, quos tibi negotiaque omnia Nasonis non secus commendo, ac si mea essent. Gratissimum mihi feceris, si intellexero hanc commendationem magnum apud te pondus habuisse.

XXXIV

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

Avitum mihi hospitium est cum Lysone, Lysonis filio, Lilybitano, valdeque ab eo observor, cognovique dignum et patre et avo; est enim nobilissima familia. Quapropter commendo tibi maiorem in modum rem domumque eius; magnoque opere abs te peto, cures, ut is intellegat, meam commendationem maximo sibi apud te et adiumento et ornamento fuisse.

XXXV

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

1 C. Avianius Philoxenus antiquus est hospes meus, et praeter hospitium valde etiam familiaris, quem

[a] Cicero was quaestor of Lilybaeum in 75-74 B.C. under the praetor Sext. Peducaeus.

[b] As Philoxenus seems to have been made a Roman citizen at Cicero's request, he should have taken the name of M. Tullius; but as Cicero had probably been actuated by Avianius's advice, Philoxenus preferred to take the name of the latter. (*Cf.* xiii. 79.)

I use in commending to you one with whom I am on such terms as I have just set down. He has some business affairs in your province which are being attended to by his freedmen, Hilarus, Antigonus, and Demostratus; and them I commend to you, and also all Naso's affairs, precisely as if they were my own. You will have gratified me extremely if I have reason to think that this recommendation of mine has had great weight with you.

XXXIV

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

I am bound by ties of hospitality, dating from the days of his grandfather, with Lyso of Lilybaeum [a]; he pays me marked attention, and I have found him worthy both of his father and of his grandfather; for he comes of a very noble family. That is why I commend him to you, and his household also, with more than ordinary earnestness, and I beg of you very particularly to give him reason to know that my recommendation has been of great assistance as well as a great compliment to him.

XXXV

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

C. Avianius Philoxenus [b] is an old friend and guest of mine, and apart from the ties of hospitality, he is very intimate with me; it was as a favour to me that 1

Caesar meo beneficio in Novocomenses rettulit. Nomen autem Aviani secutus est, quod homine nullo plus est usus, quam Flacco Aviano, meo, quemadmodum te scire arbitror, familiarissimo. Quae ego omnia collegi, ut intellegeres, non vulgarem esse commen-
2 dationem hanc meam. Peto igitur abs te, ut omnibus rebus, quod sine molestia tua facere possis, ei commodes, habeasque in numero tuorum; perficiasque, ut intellegat has litteras meas magno sibi usui fuisse. Erit id mihi maiorem in modum gratum.

XXXVI

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

1 Cum Demetrio Mega mihi vetustum hospitium est, familiaritas autem tanta, quanta cum Siculo nullo. Ei Dolabella rogatu meo civitatem a Caesare impetravit: qua in re ego interfui. Itaque nunc P. Cornelius vocatur. Cumque propter quosdam sordidos homines, qui Caesaris beneficia vendebant, tabulam, in qua nomina civitate donatorum incisa essent, revelli iussisset, eidem Dolabellae me audiente Caesar dixit nihil esse, quod de Mega vereretur;

[a] Novum Comum was a colony established by Caesar, who regarded it as being specially under his protection.

[b] *i.e.*, Megas took Dolabella's name just as Philoxenus (see the preceding letter) had taken that of Avianius, and now called himself P. Cornelius Megas.

Caesar enrolled him among the citizens of Novum Comum.[a] He has however adopted the name of Avianius, because he was on more intimate terms with nobody than with Flaccus Avianius, who is, as I believe you are aware, a very dear friend of mine. I have put together all these details to convince you that this recommendation of mine is something out of the common.

I therefore beg of you to do all you can for him in 2
every respect, so far as you may without inconvenience to yourself, to count him as one of your friends, and to convince him without fail that this letter of mine has been of material service to him. Your doing so will give me more than ordinary pleasure.

XXXVI

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

I have ties of hospitality of long standing with 1
Demetrius Megas, and I am more intimate with him than with any other Sicilian. It was for him that Dolabella, at my request, obtained the citizenship from Caesar, and I myself took part in the transaction, so now he goes by the name of P. Cornelius.[b] And when, on account of certain disreputable persons, who used to sell his favours, Caesar gave orders that the tablet on which were engraved the names of those presented with citizenship should be torn down, Caesar assured that same Dolabella in my hearing that there was no reason why he should be appre-

2 beneficium suum in eo manere. Hoc te scire volui, ut eum in civium Romanorum numero haberes, ceterisque in rebus tibi eum ita commendo, ut maiore studio neminem commendarim. Gratissimum mihi feceris, si eum ita tractaris, ut intellegat, meam commendationem magno sibi ornamento fuisse.

XXXVII

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

Hippiam, Philoxeni filium, Calactinum, hospitem et necessarium meum, tibi commendo in maiorem modum. Eius bona, quemadmodum ad me delata res est, publice possidentur alieno nomine, contra leges Calactinorum. Id si ita est, etiam sine mea commendatione ab aequitate tua res ipsa impetrare debet, ut ei subvenias. Quoquo modo autem se res habet, peto a te, ut honoris mei causa eum expedias, tantumque ei commodes et in hac re et in ceteris, quantum tua fides dignitasque patietur. Id mihi vehementer gratum erit.

[a] Καλὴ Ἀκτή on the N. coast of Sicily, east of Halesa.

hensive about Megas, adding that the favour he had conferred upon him held good.

I was anxious that you should know this, so that you 2
might count him among the citizens of Rome, and in all other respects I commend him to you with as much earnestness as I have ever commended anybody. You will give me extreme pleasure if you so treat him as to make him feel that my recommendation has conferred great distinction upon him.

XXXVII

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

I commend to you with more than ordinary warmth Hippias of Calacte,[a] son of Philoxenus, as being closely bound to me by ties of hospitality. His property, as the matter has been reported to me, is being held by the State, in contravention of the laws of Calacte, on account of a debt for which he is not responsible. If that is so, the circumstances themselves, even without any recommendation of mine, ought to prevail upon a man with your sense of justice to give him your assistance. But howsoever the matter stands, I beg of you for my credit's sake to release him from his difficulties, and to oblige him both in this and in every other respect so far as is compatible with your honour and position. Your doing so will give me extreme pleasure.

XXXVIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

L. Bruttius, eques Romanus, adulescens omnibus rebus ornatus, in meis familiarissimis est meque observat diligentissime, cuius cum patre magna mihi fuit amicitia iam inde a quaestura mea Siciliensi. Omnino nunc ipse Bruttius Romae mecum est; sed tamen domum eius et rem familiarem et procuratores tibi sic commendo, ut maiore studio commendare non possim. Gratissimum mihi feceris, si curaris, ut intellegat Bruttius—id quod ei recepi—hanc meam commendationem sibi magno adiumento fuisse.

XXXIX

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

Cum familia Titurnia necessitudo mihi intercedit vetus, ex qua reliquus est M. Titurnius Rufus, qui mihi omni diligentia atque officio est tuendus. Est igitur in tua potestate, ut ille in me satis sibi praesidi putet esse. Quapropter eum tibi commendo in maiorem modum, et abs te peto, efficias, ut is commendationem hanc intellegat sibi magno adiumento fuisse. Erit id mihi vehementer gratum.

[a] See note *a* on 34 above.

XXXVIII

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

L. Bruttius, a Roman knight and in every respect a distinguished young man, is among my most intimate friends, and is most punctilious in his attentions to me; and I have been great friends with his father ever since my Sicilian quaestorship.[a] To be sure Bruttius himself is at Rome with me, but I none the less commend to you him, his house, his estate, and his agents, with as much warmth as I could put into any recommendation. It will give me extreme pleasure if you make a point of convincing Bruttius (and I have pledged my word to him that it will be so) that this recommendation of mine has been of material assistance to him.

XXXIX

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

I have a close connexion of long standing with the Titurnian family, and the only survivor of that family is M. Titurnius Rufus, whom it is my duty to support with all the assiduity and civility I possibly can. It is within your power then to make him believe that the protection he looks for in me is adequate. For that reason I recommend him to you with more than ordinary warmth, and beg of you so to act as to convince him that this recommendation of him has been of material assistance to him. Your doing so will give me no little pleasure.

XL

M. T. C. S. P. D. Q. ANCHARIO Q. F. PROC.

Romae, A.U.C. 699.

L. et C. Aurelios, L. filios, quibus et ipsis et patre eorum, viro optimo, familiarissime utor, commendo tibi maiorem in modum, adulescentes omnibus optimis artibus ornatos, meos pernecessarios, tua amicitia dignissimos. Si ulla mea apud te commendatio valuit —quod scio multas plurimum valuisse—haec ut valeat, rogo. Quod si eos honorifice liberaliterque tractaris, et tibi gratissimos optimosque adulescentes adiunxeris, et mihi gratissimum feceris.

XLI

M. T. C. S. P. D. L. CULLEOLO

Romae, A.U.C. 695.

1 Quae fecisti L. Luccei causa, scire te plane volo te homini gratissimo commodasse, et cum ipsi, quae fecisti, pergrata sunt, tum Pompeius, quotiescumque me videt (videt autem saepe), gratias tibi agit singulares. Addo etiam illud, quod tibi iucundissimum

[a] Tribune of the plebs in 59, when he opposed Caesar. He was praetor in 56, and proconsul of Macedonia in 55.

[b] Tyrrell remarks that the title of proconsul does not necessarily imply that Culleolus had been consul. It was sometimes given to a provincial governor in command of an army.

[c] This is the Lucceius whom Cicero urged to write an account of the Catilinian conspiracy (v. 12).

XL

CICERO TO Q. ANCHARIUS,[a] PROCONSUL

Rome, 55 B.C.

I recommend to you with more than ordinary warmth Lucius and Gaius Aurelius, the sons of Lucius, with whom, as with their father, a most excellent man, I am exceedingly intimate; they are young men distinguished in all the best accomplishments, very closely associated with myself, and in every way worthy of your friendship. If any recommendation of mine has ever had any influence with you—and, as to that, I know that many have had the greatest influence—I ask you to let this do so. If you treat them honourably and handsomely, you will not only win the attachment of two very grateful and excellent young men, but you will also give me the greatest possible pleasure.

XLI

CICERO TO L. CULLEOLUS, PROCONSUL[b]

Rome, 59 (?) B.C.

As regards what you have done for L. Lucceius,[c] 1
I wish you distinctly to understand that you have obliged the most grateful of men; and while all you have done gives great pleasure to Lucceius himself, Pompey also, whenever he sees me (and he sees me often), thanks you with quite unusual warmth. This much too I may add—and I am perfectly sure you

esse certo scio, me ipsum ex tua erga Lucceium be-
2 nignitate, maxima voluptate affici. Quod superest, quamquam mihi non est dubium, quin cum antea nostra causa, nunc iam etiam tuae constantiae gratia, mansurus sis in eadem ista liberalitate, tamen abs te vehementer etiam atque etiam peto, ut ea, quae initio ostendisti deincepsque fecisti, ad exitum augeri et cumulari per te velis. Id et Lucceio et Pompeio valde gratum fore, teque apud eos praeclare positurum confirmo et spondeo. De republica, deque his negotiis cogitationibusque nostris perscripseram ad te diligenter paucis ante diebus, easque litteras dederam pueris tuis. Vale.

XLII

M. T. C. S. P. D. L. CULLEOLO PROC.

Romae, A.U.C. 695.

1 L. Lucceius meus, homo omnium gratissimus, mirificas tibi apud me gratias egit, cum diceret, omnia te cumulatissime et liberalissime procuratoribus suis pollicitum esse. Cum oratio tua tam ei grata fuerit, quam gratam rem ipsam existimas fore, cum, ut spero, quae pollicitus es, feceris? Omnino ostenderunt Bulliones, sese Lucceio Pompei arbitratu

[a] It appears that the inhabitants of Bullis (a town on the coast of Illyria, S. of Apollonia) owed money to Lucceius, and had promised to pay it, but Culleolus's official authority would increase the prospects of its being paid.

will be delighted to hear it—that your generosity to Lucceius is a very great pleasure to myself.

As to what remains, although I have no doubt 2
that as previously for my sake, so now on behalf of your own consistency also you will persevere in the same generosity, none the less I earnestly beg of you again and again to prove your desire that the promises you originally made, and in due course fulfilled, should by your instrumentality be even improved upon and brought to a completely successful issue. That this will be highly gratifying to both Lucceius and Pompey, and that you will be making a brilliant investment in them, I solemnly pledge my word. As to the political situation and the business going on here, and our reflections thereon, I wrote to you fully and painstakingly a few days ago, and handed the letter to your servants. Farewell.

XLII

CICERO TO L. CULLEOLUS, PROCONSUL

Rome, 59 B.C.

My friend L. Lucceius, the most grateful of men, 1
expressed to me his amazingly cordial gratitude to you when he told me that you had promised everything to his agents with quite unbounded generosity. Seeing that your words gave him such pleasure, what pleasure do you suppose your acts will give him, when, as I hope, you have fulfilled your promises? The inhabitants of Bullis at all events have indicated that they will satisfy Lucceius's claims according to Pompey's award.[a]

2 satisfacturos. Sed vehementer opus est nobis, et voluntatem et auctoritatem et imperium tuum accedere. Quod ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo. Illudque mihi gratissimum est, quod ita sciunt Luccei procuratores, et ita Lucceius ipse ex litteris tuis, quas ad eum misisti, intellexit, hominis nullius apud te auctoritatem aut gratiam valere plus, quam meam. Id ut re experiatur, iterum et saepius te rogo.

XLIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. QUINTIO GALLO

Romae, A.U.C. 696 (?).

1 Etsi plurimis rebus spero fore, ut perspiciam, quod tamen iampridem perspicio, me a te amari, tamen nunc ea causa tibi datur, in qua facile declarare possis tuam erga me benevolentiam. L. Oppius, M. F., Philomeli negotiatur, homo mihi familiaris. Eum tibi unice commendo, eoque magis, quod cum ipsum diligo, tum quod negotia procurat L. Egnati Rufi, quo ego uno equite Romano familiarissime utor, et qui cum consuetudine quotidiana, tum officiis
2 plurimis maximisque mihi coniunctus est. Oppium igitur praesentem ut diligas, Egnati absentis rem ut tueare, aeque a te peto ac si mea negotia essent.

[a] Probably a *legatus* of Marcius Philippus, who seems to have been governor of Asia, but in what year it is not known.
[b] See ii. 16. 7.
[c] A town between Synnada and Iconium.
[d] Both Marcus and Quintus Cicero had money dealings with Egnatius. (*Att.* vii. 18. 4.)

But there is pressing need for our having the additional advantage of your goodwill, and of your personal and official influence, and I beg you again and again not to refuse us that. It is also extremely gratifying to me that Lucceius's agents have learnt, and Lucceius himself has inferred from the letter you sent him, that there is nobody in the world who carries more weight with you, or is personally more acceptable to you, than myself. I beg you once more, and repeatedly, to give him practical proof of that. 2

XLIII

CICERO TO QUINTIUS GALLUS[a]

Rome, 58 (?) B.C.

Although there are numberless circumstances in 1
which I hope I may have clear proof—and indeed I have long since had proof enough—of your affection for me, yet here you have a case offered you in which you can easily make manifest your kindly feeling for me. Lucius Oppius,[b] the son of Marcus, is a banker at Philomelium[c] and an intimate friend of mine. I commend him to you most particularly, and all the more because not only do I esteem him for himself, but he is also in charge of the affairs of L. Egnatius Rufus, a man with whom I am on more familiar terms than with any other single Roman knight, and who is closely associated with me both by daily intercourse and by services as numerous as they are important.

I therefore beg of you to make much of Oppius, 2
who is with you, and to protect the interests of Egnatius,[d] who is not, just as much as if his affairs

Velim, memoriae tuae causa, des litterarum aliquid, quae tibi in provincia reddantur; sed ita conscribas, ut tum, cum eas leges, facile recordari possis huius meae commendationis diligentiam. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

XLIV

CICERO GALLO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 696 (?).

Etsi ex tuis et ex L. Oppi, familiarissimi mei, litteris cognovi, te memorem commendationis meae fuisse, idque, pro tua summa erga me benevolentia proque nostra necessitudine, minime sum admiratus, tamen etiam atque etiam tibi L. Oppium praesentem et L. Egnati, mei familiarissimi, absentis negotia commendo. Tanta mihi cum eo necessitudo est familiaritasque, ut, si mea res esset, non magis laborarem. Quapropter gratissimum mihi feceris, si curaris, ut is intellegat, me a te tantum amari, quantum ipse existimo. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes. Idque ut facias, vehementer te rogo.

[a] *Sc.* Oppius.

were my own. To assist your memory, I should be glad if you would send him[a] something in the shape of a letter to be handed back to you in the province, but please draw it up in such a way that, when you read it, you can at once recall the care I have taken in writing this recommendation. This I earnestly beg of you again and again to do.

XLIV

CICERO TO QUINTIUS GALLUS

Rome, 58 (?) B.C.

Although your own letter and that of my very dear friend L. Oppius have convinced me that you have not been forgetful of my recommendation (and I am not in the least surprised at that, considering your extremely kind feeling for me and the closeness of our connexion), still I commend to you again and again L. Oppius, who is with you, and the affairs of my very dear friend L. Egnatius, who is not. So close is my connexion and intimacy with him that I should not feel more anxious if the business were my own. That is why you will do me a very great favour if you make a point of giving him reason to know that your affection for me is as sincere as I myself believe it to be. Nothing that you can do would give me greater pleasure, and I earnestly beg of you to do so.

XLV

M. T. C. S. P. D. APPULEIO PROQUAESTORI

Romae, A.U.C. 696 (?).

L. Egnatio uno equite Romano vel familiarissime utor. Eius Anchialum servum negotiaque, quae habet in Asia, tibi commendo non minore studio, quam si rem meam commendarem. Sic enim existimes velim, mihi cum eo non modo quotidianam consuetudinem summam intercedere, sed etiam officia magna et mutua nostra inter nos esse. Quamobrem etiam atque etiam a te peto, ut cures, ut intellega t me ad te satis diligenter scripsisse. Nam de tua erga me voluntate non dubitabat. Id ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo.

XLVI

M. T. C. S. P. D. APPULEIO PROQUAESTORI

Romae, A.U.C. 696 (?).

L. Nostius Zoilus est coheres meus, heres autem patroni sui. Ea re utrumque scripsi, ut et mihi cum illo causam amicitiae scires esse, et hominem probum existimares, qui patroni iudicio ornatus esset. Eum tibi igitur sic commendo ut unum ex nostra domo.

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[a] *i.e.*, to Marcius Philippus (see *Ep.* 43, note *a*).
[b] Zoilus was a freedman of L. Nostius, whose name he took according to the usual practice.

XLV

CICERO TO APPULEIUS, PROQUAESTOR [a]

Rome, 58 (?) B.C.

Of all the Roman knights the one man I am most intimate with is L. Egnatius. It is his slave Anchialus, together with his banking business in Asia, that I commend to you with no less warmth than if the business I commend to you were my very own. For I would have you believe not only that our daily intercourse is of the closest nature, but that we are bound together by important mutual services. For that reason I beg of you again and again to make a point of satisfying him that I have written to you with no lack of careful elaboration; for of your goodwill towards me he has never entertained a doubt. I ask you again and again to do so.

XLVI

CICERO TO APPULEIUS, PROQUAESTOR

Rome, 58 (?) B.C.

L. Nostius Zoilus [b] is co-heir with me, but also the heir of his patron. My reasons for telling you these two facts are firstly, to let you know that there are grounds for my friendship with him, and secondly, to convince you that he is a man of integrity, seeing that he has been so complimented by the deliberate act of his patron. I therefore commend him to you as warmly as if he were of my own household. It will

Valde mihi gratum erit, si curaris, ut intellegat, hanc commendationem sibi apud te magno adiumento fuisse.

XLVII

M. T. C. S. P. D. SILIO

Romae, A.U.C. 703 (?).

Quid ego tibi commendem eum quem tu ipse diligis? Sed tamen, ut scires, eum a me non diligi solum, verum etiam amari, ob eam rem tibi haec scribo. Omnium tuorum officiorum, quae et multa et magna sunt, mihi gratissimum fuerit, si ita tractaris Egnatium, ut sentiat, et se a me, et me a te amari. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Illa nostra scilicet ceciderunt. Utamur igitur vulgari consolatione, *quid si hoc melius?* Sed haec coram. Tu fac, quod facis, ut me ames, teque amari a me scias.

XLVIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. SEXTILIO RUFO QUAEST.

Romae, A.U.C. 704–707.

Omnes tibi commendo Cyprios, sed magis Paphios; quibus tu quaecumque commodaris, erunt mihi gratissima. Eoque facio libentius, ut eos tibi commendem,

[a] Probably P. Silius Nerva, propraetor of Bithynia and Pontus in 51.

[b] Probably some efforts of Cicero to escape from provincial government.

[c] Rufus seems to have been sent out to Cyprus as proquaestor by Caesar in 49. We hear of him later as commander of the fleet of Cassius in 43.

give me great pleasure if you make a point of satisfying him that my recommendation has been of material assistance to him.

XLVII

CICERO TO SILIUS [a]

Rome, 51 (?) B.C.

Why should I commend to you a man whom you like on your own account? But anyhow the reason I write thus to you is to let you know that I not only like but even love him. Of all your services to me (and they are many and great) what will give me most pleasure is your so treating Egnatius as to make him feel that I love him and you love me. This I earnestly beg of you again and again to do. Oh yes, those plans of ours have fallen through.[b] Let us then comfort ourselves with the well-known formula "Perhaps it is all for the best." But of this when we meet. It is for you to see to it (and you do) that you love me, and are assured that I love you.

XLVIII

CICERO TO GAIUS SEXTILIUS RUFUS, QUAESTOR [c]

Rome, between 50 and 47 B.C.

I commend to you all the inhabitants of Cyprus, and more particularly those of Paphos, and whatever favours you bestow upon them will be most gratifying to myself; and I do so with all the more pleasure —I mean commend them to you—because I think

quod et tuae laudi, cuius ego fautor sum, conducere arbitror, cum primus in eam insulam quaestor veneris, ea te instituere, quae sequantur alii; quae, ut spero, facilius consequere, si et P. Lentuli, necessari tui, legem, et ea, quae a me constituta sunt, sequi volueris. Quam rem tibi confido magnae laudi fore.

XLIX

CICERO S. P. D. CURIO PROC.

(Anno incerto.)

Q. Pompeius, Sext. F., multis et veteribus causis necessitudinis mihi coniunctus est. Is, cum antea meis commendationibus et rem et gratiam et auctoritatem suam tueri consuerit, nunc profecto, te provinciam obtinente, meis litteris assequi debet, ut nemini se intellegat commendatiorem umquam fuisse. Quamobrem a te maiorem in modum peto, ut, cum omnes meos aeque ac tuos observare, pro nostra necessitudine, debeas, hunc in primis ita in tuam fidem recipias, ut ipse intellegat, nullam rem sibi maiori usui aut ornamento quam meam commendationem esse potuisse. Vale.

[a] P. Lentulus Spinther, governor of Cilicia 56–53 (i. 1. 1, note *a*).
[b] When governor of Cilicia (in 51 and 52), for at that time Cyprus was part of the province of Cilicia, and remained so until 47, when it was handed over to Arsinoe and Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy Auletes (Dio Cass. xiii. 35. 5).

that it will conduce to your own reputation also (which I always have at heart), if when you reach that island as its first quaestor, you set precedents for others to follow; and this I hope you will the more easily accomplish if you decide to follow the code of your relative P. Lentulus,[a] and the regulations I instituted myself.[b] Such a policy will, I am confident, do you much credit.

XLIX

CICERO TO CURIUS [a]

(Date uncertain.)

There are many reasons of long standing for the close attachment of Q. Pompeius, son of Sextus, to myself. As in the past it is in my recommendations that he has got into the habit of finding support for his fortunes, his reputation, and influence, he certainly ought just now, when you are governor of the province, to profit by my letter so far as to be assured that there is nobody to whom he has ever been more highly commended. For that reason I beg of you with exceptional earnestness, since in view of our close association it is incumbent upon you to show my friends as much respect as your own, to admit this gentleman to your special friendship in such a way as to convince him that nothing could possibly have been of more service or more of a distinction to him than my recommendation. Farewell.

[a] See ii. 19. 2. It is not known what province he governed, or when.

L

M. T. C. S. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 710.

1 Sumpsi hoc mihi, pro tua in me observantia, quam penitus perspexi, quamdiu Brundisi fuimus, ut ad te familiariter et quasi pro meo iure scriberem, si quae res esset de qua valde laborarem. M'. Curius, qui Patris negotiatur, ita mihi familiaris est, ut nihil possit esse coniunctius. Multa illius in me officia, multa in illum mea, quodque maximum est, summus
2 inter nos amor et mutuus. Quae cum ita sint, si ullam in amicitia mea spem habes, si ea, quae in me officia et studia Brundisi contulisti, vis mihi etiam gratiora efficere (quamquam sunt gratissima), si me a tuis omnibus amari vides, hoc mihi da atque largire, ut M'. Curium sartum et tectum, ut aiunt, ab omnique incommodo, detrimento, molestia sincerum integrumque conserves. Et ipse spondeo, et omnes hoc tibi tui pro me recipient, ex mea amicitia et ex tuo in me officio maximum te fructum summamque voluptatem esse capturum.

[a] See note *a* to *Ep.* 30 above.
[b] The stock phrase for a building in good repair.

L

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO,[a] PROCONSUL

Rome (?), January, 44 B.C.

In view of your respect for me, of which I had convincing proof all the time I was at Brundisium, I have presumed so far as to address you with familiarity, and as though I had the right to do so, if there were anything that caused me serious anxiety. 1

M'. Curius, who has a banking business at Patrae, is so intimate with me that no association could possibly be closer. His services to me have been many, and so have mine been to him, and (what is most important of all) our affection for each other is as sincere as it is mutual.

That being so, if you have anything to hope for 2
from my friendship, if you would even enhance my gratitude, profound as it already is, for the cordial kindnesses you heaped upon me at Brundisium, if you observe that all your friends regard me with affection, then I say, grant me of your bounty this one favour—keep M'. Curius " water-tight and weather-proof " [b] as they say, free from the slightest taint and touch of disaster, damage, or distress. I myself guarantee, and all your friends will pledge themselves to you on my behalf, that you will find the combination of my friendship for you with your kindness to me a source of immense profit and infinite pleasure to you.

LI

M. T. C. S. D. P. CAESIO

Romae, anno incerto.

P. Messienum, equitem Romanum, omnibus rebus ornatum meumque perfamiliarem, tibi commendo ea commendatione, quae potest esse diligentissima. Peto a te et pro nostra et pro paterna amicitia, ut eum in tuam fidem recipias eiusque rem famamque tueare. Virum bonum tuaque amicitia dignum tibi adiunxeris mihique gratissimum feceris.

LII

CICERO S. D. REGI

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

A. Licinius Aristoteles Melitensis antiquissimus est hospes meus, et praeterea coniunctus magno usu familiaritatis. Haec cum ita sint, non dubito, quin tibi satis commendatus sit. Etenim ex multis cognosco, meam commendationem plurimum apud te valere. Hunc ego a Caesare liberavi. Frequens enim fuerat nobiscum, atque etiam diutius in causa est, quam nos, commoratus, quo melius te de eo

[a] Propraetor of Sicily in 46.
[b] *i.e.*, the Pompeian cause.

LI

CICERO TO P. CAESIUS

Rome, date uncertain.

P. Messenius is a Roman knight, possessed of every accomplishment, and a very dear friend of mine; I commend him to you, and my recommendation is as strong as the strongest that can be. I beg of you in the name of our own friendship and that of our fathers to admit him into your confidence, and to protect his interests and reputation. You will have won the attachment of a good man and one worthy of your friendship, and at the same time earned my most sincere gratitude.

LII

CICERO TO Q. MARCIUS REX [a]

Rome, 46 B.C.

Aulus Licinius Aristoteles of Melite is a friend of mine by virtue of very long-standing ties of hospitality, and he is moreover attached to me by constant and familiar association. Such being the case, I have no doubt that he is already sufficiently commended to you; for I have been told by many that a recommendation from me has very great influence with you. He is the man whose freedom I secured from Caesar; he had been associated with us on many occasions, and indeed maintained his adherence to the cause [b] even longer than I did, and I imagine you

existimaturum arbitror. Fac igitur, mi Rex, ut intellegat, has sibi litteras plurimum profuisse.

LIII

CICERO THERMO PROPR. S.

In Cilicia, ad fin. A.U.C. 703.

1 L. Genucilio Curvo iampridem utor familiarissime, optimo viro et homine gratissimo. Eum tibi penitus commendo atque trado; primum, ut omnibus in rebus ei commodes, quoad fides tua dignitasque patietur; (patietur autem in omnibus), nihil enim abs te umquam, quod sit alienum tuis aut etiam suis
2 moribus, postulabit. Praecipue autem tibi commendo negotia eius, quae sunt in Hellesponto, primum, ut obtineat id iuris in agris, quod ei Pariana civitas decrevit et dedit, et quod semper obtinuit sine ulla controversia; deinde, si quid habebit cum aliquo Hellespontio controversiae, ut in illam διοίκησιν reicias. Sed non mihi videor, cum tibi totum hominem diligentissime commendarim, singulas ad te eius causas perscribere debere. Summa illa sit: quidquid offici, benefici, honoris in Genucilium contuleris, id te existimabo in me ipsum atque in rem meam contulisse.

---

[a] A thorough-going optimate, who was tribune of the plebs in 62, and praetor between that year and 57. He was governor of Asia in 51 and 50.

[b] A town a little E. of Lampsacus in the διοίκησις (department) of the Hellespont. It was made a colony by Augustus.

will think all the better of him for that. Be sure then, my dear Rex, to give him the impression that this letter has proved of invaluable service to him.

LIII

CICERO TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS,[a] PROPRAETOR

Cilicia, probably towards the end of 51 B.C.

I have for long been on the most intimate terms 1
with L. Genucilius Curvus, a most excellent man, and a very grateful fellow. I commend him to you most heartily, and I introduce him to you first of all in order that you may serve him in every respect, so far as your honour and position permit (and they will permit you in every respect); for there is no demand he will ever make of you that is incompatible with your character—and, I may add, with his own.

Especially, however, do I commend to you his 2
business affairs on the Hellespont, first so that you should ensure his maintaining those rights in regard to land which the community of Parium[b] granted him by decree, and which he has always maintained without dispute; and secondly, should he have anything in the nature of a dispute with a Hellespontian, you should refer the matter to the above-mentioned department. But seeing that I have commended the man to you so very earnestly in his entirety, it does not seem to me necessary to set out his claims piecemeal. Let me sum up thus: whatever obligation, kindness, or honour you bestow upon Genucilius, I shall consider you to have bestowed upon myself and my interests.

LIV

M. T. C. S. D. THERMO PROPR.

Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.

Cum multa mihi grata sunt, quae tu adductus mea commendatione fecisti, tum in primis, quod M. Marcilium, amici atque interpretis mei filium, liberalissime tractavisti. Venit enim Laodiceam et tibi apud me mihique propter te gratias maximas egit. Quare, quod reliquum est, a te peto, cum apud gratos homines beneficium ponis, ut eo libentius his commodes operamque des, quoad fides tua patietur, ut socrus adulescentis rea ne fiat. Ego cum antea studiose commendabam Marcilium, tum multo nunc studiosius, quod in longa apparitione singularem et prope incredibilem patris Marcili fidem, abstinentiam, modestiamque cognovi.

LV

M. T. C. S. D. THERMO PROPR.

In Cilicia, A.U.C. 703.

1 Etsi mihi videor intellexisse, cum tecum Ephesi de re M. Annei, legati mei, locutus sum, te ipsius causa

[a] Nothing more is known of him.

[b] It is interesting to note that Cicero had to employ an interpreter in his province.

[c] One of Cicero's *legati*, and a distinguished military officer. The *legati* were officers who accompanied Roman generals on their campaigns as brigadiers or aides-de-camp, and in later times the governors of provinces also to be employed in either a civil or a military capacity. Pompey, when in Asia, had 15 *legati*; Cicero had 4. See Introductory Note to this Book.

LIV

CICERO TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS, PROPRAETOR

Laodicea, February, 50 B.C.

While I am grateful for much that you have been induced to do by my recommendation, I am especially so for your most generous treatment of M. Marcilius,[a] the son of my friend and interpreter.[b] He visited me at Laodicea and expressed the warmest gratitude to you in my presence, and to me also because of you. So there remains just this much—that I beg of you, since those in whom you are investing your generosity are a grateful set of people, to oblige them all the more readily, and to make every effort, compatible with your honour, to prevent the threatened prosecution of the young man's mother-in-law. While I was previously enthusiastic in my recommendation of him, I am now far more enthusiastic, because, during his long spell of service as my official servant, I have appreciated the extraordinary and almost inconceivable trustworthiness, and disinterested and unassuming character, of Marcilius's father.

LV

CICERO TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS, PROPRAETOR

Cilicia, probably late in 51 B.C.

Although I seem to have gathered from our con- 1
versation at Ephesus on the matter of my legate, M. Anneius,[c] that you were extremely anxious to

vehementer omnia velle, tamen et M. Anneium tanti facio, ut mihi nihil putem praetermittendum, quod illius intersit, et me a te tanti fieri puto, ut non dubitem, quin ad tuam voluntatem magnus cumulus accedat commendationis meae. Nam cum iam diu diligerem M. Anneium, deque eo sic existimarem, ut res declarat, quod ultro ei detulerim legationem, cum multis petentibus denegassem, tum vero, posteaquam mecum in bello atque in re militari fuit, tantam in eo virtutem, prudentiam, fidem, tantamque erga me benevolentiam cognovi, ut hominem neminem pluris faciam. Eum cum Sardianis habere controversiam scis; causam tibi exposuimus Ephesi, quam
2 tu tamen coram facilius meliusque cognosces. De reliquo mihi, mehercule, diu dubium fuit, quid ad te potissimum scriberem. Ius enim quemadmodum dicas, clarum et magna cum tua laude notum est. Nobis autem in hac causa nihil aliud opus est, nisi te ius instituto tuo dicere. Sed tamen cum me non fugiat, quanta sit in praetore auctoritas, praesertim ista integritate, gravitate, clementia, qua te esse inter omnes constat, peto abs te, pro nostra coniunctissima necessitudine plurimisque officiis paribus ac mutuis, ut voluntate, auctoritate, studio tuo perficias, ut M.

[a] See Introd. Note.
[b] In Lydia.

further his interests in every way for his own sake, still, so highly do I esteem M. Anneius that I think I should omit nothing which is of importance to him, and I think too that you esteem me highly enough to make me feel sure that my recommendation will add enormously to your good wishes for him. For though my liking for M. Anneius was of long standing, and my previous opinion of him is abundantly proved by my having conferred upon him the post of *legatus*,[a] without his asking for it, after refusing it to many who did, yet, ever since he was associated with me in the war and in military affairs, I discovered in him such courage, sagacity, and loyalty, and such goodwill towards myself, that there is now nobody in the world I esteem more highly. Well, as you are aware, he has a dispute with the people of Sardis[b]; the merits of the case I explained to you at Ephesus; you will investigate it, however, more easily and thoroughly in person.

For the rest, I declare to you that I have long been 2
in doubt as to just what it would be best to put in a letter to you. Your administration of justice is brilliant; it is a matter of common knowledge, and greatly to your credit. In this case, however, we have need of nothing but that you should administer justice according to your established usage. But for all that, since I do not forget how much influence is vested in a praetor, especially in one of such integrity, firmness, and leniency, as you are known by everybody to possess, I beg of you in view of our very close association and the numberless good services we have rendered each other with equal advantage to both, so to manage matters by your kind feeling, influence, and devotion, as to convince M. Anneius not only of

Anneius intellegat te et sibi amicum esse, quod non dubitat (saepe enim mecum locutus est), et multo amiciorem his meis litteris esse factum. In tuo toto imperio atque provincia nihil est, quod mihi gratius facere possis. Iam, apud ipsum gratissimum hominem atque optimum virum quam bene positurus sis studium tuum atque officium, dubitare te non existimo.

LVI

M. T. C. S. D. THERMO PROPR.

In Cilicia, A.U.C. 703.

1 Cluvius Puteolanus valde me observat valdeque est mihi familiaris. Is ita sibi persuadet, quod in tua provincia negoti habeat, nisi te provinciam obtinente meis commendationibus confecerit, id se in perditis et desperatis habiturum. Nunc, cum mihi ab amico officiosissimo tantum oneris imponitur, ego quoque tibi imponam pro tuis in me summis officiis, ita tamen, ut tibi nolim molestus esse. Μυλασεῖς et Ἀλαβανδεῖς pecuniam Cluvio debent. Dixerat mihi Euthydemus, cum Ephesi essem, se curaturum, ut ecdici Mylasii Romam mitterentur. Id factum non est. Legatos audio missos esse; sed malo ecdicos, ut aliquid con-

[a] The Cluvii were a Campanian family, one of whom (*cf.* Livy xxvi. 33. 8) supplied Roman captives with provisions in 215. This Cluvius (M.) was a wealthy banker of Puteoli. He made Cicero one of his heirs.

[b] Mylasa (or Mylassa) was an inland town of Caria, and a free town under the Romans.

[c] Alabanda was also a free town in Caria.

[d] *Ecdici* were counsel sent by a provincial town to defend their cause at Rome. They were generally preferred to *legati*, as the latter could only make a request, whereas

your existing friendship for him—of that, as he has often told me, he has no doubt—but also of the enhancement of that friendship by this letter of mine. In the whole sphere of your official authority and of your province there is nothing you can do that would give me more pleasure. And now I do not think you can doubt how profitably you will be investing your cordial kindness in one who is himself a most grateful fellow and a very excellent man.

LVI

CICERO TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS, PROPRAETOR

Cilicia, probably late in 51 B.C.

Cluvius of Puteoli[a] is exceedingly devoted to me 1
and exceedingly intimate with me. He is under the conviction that he will have to reckon as lost and hopeless whatever interests he has in your province, unless he secures them through a commendatory letter from me, while you are governor of the province. Just now then, having so heavy a burden laid upon me by my most obliging friend, I too shall lay a burden upon you, counting upon the signal services you have already done me—though indeed I should be sorry to be a nuisance to you.

The people of Mylasa[b] and Alabanda[c] owe money to Cluvius. Euthydemus told me, when I was at Ephesus, that he would see that *ecdici*[d] were sent by the people of Mylasa to Rome. That was not done, and now I hear that legates have been sent, but I prefer *ecdici*, so that something definite may be done.

ecdici could plead at law, but the cost of sending them was almost prohibitive. See note *a* on *Ep.* 26. 3 above.

fici possit. Quare peto a te, ut et eos et 'Αλαβανδεῖς
2 iubeas ecdicos Romam mittere. Praeterea Philotes
Alabandensis ὑποθήκας Cluvio dedit. Hae commissae sunt. Velim cures, ut aut de hypothecis
decedat easque procuratoribus Cluvi tradat aut
pecuniam solvat. Praeterea Heracleotae et Bargylietae, qui item debent, aut pecuniam solvant aut
3 fructibus suis satisfaciant. Caunii praeterea debent;
sed aiunt se depositam pecuniam habuisse. Id velim cognoscas; et, si intellexeris, eos neque ex edicto neque ex decreto depositam habuisse, des operam, ut usurae Cluvio instituto tuo conserventur. His de rebus eo magis laboro, quod agitur res Cn. Pompei, etiam nostri necessari; et quod is magis etiam mihi laborare videtur, quam ipse Cluvius; cui satisfactum esse a nobis valde volo. His de rebus te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

LVII

CICERO THERMO PROPR. S.

Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Quo magis quotidie ex litteris nuntiisque bellum magnum esse in Syria cognosco, eo vehementius a te pro nostra necessitudine contendo, ut mihi M. Anneium legatum primo quoque tempore remittas.

[a] The inhabitants of Heraclea (also called Salbace) in Caria.

[b] Also in Caria.

[c] An unhealthy town in Caria, famous for its figs.

[d] An edict was in general terms, a decree more specific.

[e] See note *c* on *Ep.* 55. 1 above.

And that is why I beg of you to order them, and the people of Alabanda, to send *ecdici* to Rome.

Furthermore Philotes of Alabanda has given 2
Cluvius a mortgage, and that mortgage has lapsed. I should be glad if you would see that he either surrenders the mortgaged property and hands it over to Cluvius's agent, or else pays the money; and moreover that the people of Heraclea[a] and Bargylia,[b] who are also his debtors, should either pay him the money owed, or else satisfy his claims by allowing him a charge on their income.

The people of Caunus[c] are also in his debt but 3
they declare that they have the money lying on deposit. Please inquire into the matter, and if you arrive at the conclusion that they have not had the money deposited either by edict or by decree,[d] do your best by your ruling to secure the interest thereon for Cluvius. I am the more worried on account of all this because the interests of our friend Cn. Pompeius are at stake, and because he strikes me as being even more worried than even Cluvius himself, and I am most anxious that we should satisfy his claims. I earnestly beg of you again and again to attend to these matters.

LVII

CICERO TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS, PROPRAETOR

Laodicea, March, 50 B.C.

The more clearly I recognize day after day that 1
there is a great war on in Syria, the more urgently do I implore you in the name of our close association to send my legate M. Anneius[e] back to me at the first

Nam eius opera, consilio, scientia rei militaris vel maxime intellego me et rempublicam adiuvari posse. Quod nisi tanta res eius ageretur, nec ipse adduci potuisset, ut a me discederet, neque ego, ut eum a me dimitterem. Ego in Ciliciam proficisci cogito circiter Kal. Mai. Ante eam diem Anneius ad me
2 redeat oportet. Illud quod tecum et coram et per litteras diligentissime egi, id et nunc etiam atque etiam rogo curae tibi sit, ut suum negotium, quod habet cum populo Sardiano, pro causae veritate et pro sua dignitate conficiat. Intellexi ex tua oratione, cum tecum Ephesi locutus sum, te ipsius M. Annei causa omnia velle. Sed tamen sic velim existimes, te mihi nihil gratius facere posse, quam si intellexero, per te illum ipsum negotium ex sententia confecisse; idque quam primum ut efficias, te etiam atque etiam rogo.

LVIII

M. CICERO C. TITIO L. F. RUFO PR. URBANO S.

Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.

L. Custidius est tribulis et municeps et familiaris meus. Is causam habet; quam causam ad te deferet. Commendo tibi hominem, sicuti tua fides et meus pudor postulat, tantum, ut faciles ad te aditus

possible opportunity. For I realize that by his activity, shrewdness, and skill in military affairs he can be of the very greatest assistance to the Republic and myself. Had not such important interests of his been at stake, neither could he himself have ever been induced to leave me, nor I to let him go. My own intention is to set out for Cilicia about May 1st. It is imperative that Anneius should rejoin me before that date.

What I most pressingly pleaded with you to do, 2
both in person and by letter, that I now beg of you again and again to do—to make it your business to enable him to conclude his negotiation with the people of Sardis in a manner befitting the justice of his case and his own position. I understood from what you said when I interviewed you at Ephesus that you were anxious to promote M. Anneius's interests in every way on his own account. But none the less I would have you believe that you can do nothing that would please me more than to convince me that he has settled his business to his own satisfaction through your instrumentality; and I beg of you to get that done as soon as possible.

LVIII

CICERO TO C. TITIUS RUFUS, PRAETOR URBANUS

Laodicea, February, 50 B.C.

L. Custidius is a fellow-tribesman, a fellow-townsman, and an intimate friend of mine. He has a case at law, and that case he will lay before you. I commend the man to you, but only, as your probity and my modesty demand, so far as to ask you to let him

habeat; quae aequa postulabit, ut libente te impetret; sentiatque meam sibi amicitiam, etiam cum longissime absim, prodesse in primis apud te.

LIX

M. T. C. C. CURTIO PEDUCAEANO, PRAETORI S. D.

Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.

M. Fadium unice diligo, summaque mihi cum eo consuetudo et familiaritas est pervetus. In eius controversiis quid decernas, a te non peto (servabis, ut tua fides et dignitas postulat, edictum et institutum tuum), sed ut quam facillimos ad te aditus habeat, quae erunt aequa, libente te impetret; ut meam amicitiam sibi, etiam cum procul absim, prodesse sentiat, praesertim apud te. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

LX

M. T. C. S. D. C. MUNATIO C. F.

Anno incerto.

1 L. Livineius Trypho est omnino L. Reguli, familiarissimi mei, libertus; cuius calamitas etiam officio-

[a] One of the Peducaei, adopted into the Curtian family.

[b] M. Fadius Gallus, a great friend of Cicero, who addressed to him vii. 23-36.

[c] The customary public announcement of a praetor on entering office, in which he specified the rules by which he would be guided in administering justice. Out of such edicts was evoked an important part of the body of Roman law.

have easy access to you, to grant him without reluctance his reasonable demands, and to make him feel that my friendship, even when I am very far away, is of benefit to him, especially with you.

LIX

CICERO TO CURTIUS PEDUCAEANUS,[a] PRAETOR

Laodicea, February, 50 B.C.

I am exceptionally fond of M. Fadius[b]; I have constant intercourse with him, and our intimacy is of very long standing. In his various suits I make no request as to your decisions (you will, as your credit and position demand, observe your edict[c] and your established rule of administration) but this I do ask you—to let him have as easy access to you as is possible, to grant him without reluctance such requests as are right and proper, and to make him feel that my friendship, even though I am far away, is of service to him, especially with you. That is what I beg of you again and again to do.

LX

CICERO TO C. MUNATIUS

Date uncertain.

L. Livineius Trypho is, in any case,[d] the freedman 1
of my very intimate friend L. Regulus, whose misfortune[e] makes me more ready than ever to serve him;

[d] Or, "to say the least of it," whatever other claims he may have upon me. Shuckburgh translates it "to begin with."

[e] Probably exile, but the circumstances are not known.

siorem me facit in illum. Nam benevolentior, quam semper fui, esse non possum. Sed ego libertum eius per se ipsum diligo; summa enim eius erga me officia exstiterunt his nostris temporibus, quibus facillime benevolentiam[1] hominum et fidem perspicere potui.
2 Eum tibi ita commendo, ut homines grati et memores bene meritos de se commendare debent. Pergratum mihi feceris, si ille intellexerit, se, quod pro salute mea multa pericula adierit, saepe hieme summa navigarit, pro tua erga me benevolentia gratum etiam tibi fecisse.

LXI

M. T. C. S. D. P. SILIO PROPR.

In Cilicia, A.U.C. 703.

T. Pinnio familiarissime me usum esse, scire te arbitror, quod quidem ille testamento declaravit, qui me cum tutorem, tum etiam secundum heredem instituerit. Eius filio mire studioso et erudito et modesto pecuniam Nicaeenses grandem debent, ad HS octogies, et, ut audio, in primis ei volunt solvere. Pergratum igitur mihi feceris, quando non modo reliqui tutores, qui sciunt, quanti me facias, sed etiam puer ipse sibi persuasit, te omnia mea causa facturum esse, si dederis operam, quoad tua fides

[1] *Nobbe and others have* bonam *before* benevolentiam, *but Klotz rightly, I think, rejects it, as the collocation is un-Ciceronian.*

[a] Propraetor of Bithynia and Pontus in 51. For a lawsuit in which he was engaged see vii. 21.

[b] *i.e.*, the next heir, in the event of the first heir dying. *Cf.* Hor. *Sat.* ii. 5. 45-50.

[c] About £70,000.

more friendly in my feeling for him than I always have been I cannot be. But I esteem this freedman of his for his own sake; his services to me were conspicuous at that crisis in my life when I was able most easily to appraise the goodwill and loyalty of my fellow-men.
I therefore commend him to you as men who are grateful and not forgetful are bound to commend those who have deserved well of them. You will have done me a great kindness if he is led to believe that by frequently risking his own safety for mine, and often taking ship in the depth of winter, he did what was acceptable to you also, since you wish me well. 2

LXI

CICERO TO P. SILIUS,[a] PROPRAETOR

Cilicia, probably late in 51 B.C.

I believe that you are aware that I was on very intimate terms with T. Pinnius, and indeed he showed that plainly by his will, since he made me not only his trustee, but also his heir in the second degree.[b] His son, a remarkably studious, erudite, and unassuming youth, is owed a large sum of money (about eight million sesterces[c]), by the people of Nicaea[d]; and, according to what I hear, they are desirous of paying him among their first creditors. You will therefore do me a great kindness (and the other trustees who know how highly you esteem me, as well as the youth himself, are fully persuaded that there is nothing you will not do for me), if you make

[d] Nicaea was one of the twelve townships into which Bithynia was divided.

dignitasque patietur, ut quam plurimum pecuniae Pinnio solvatur Nicaeensium nomine.

LXII

M. T. C. S. D. P. SILIO PROPR.

In Cilicia, A.U.C. 703.

Et in Atili negotio te amavi (cum enim sero venissem, tamen honestum equitem Romanum beneficio tuo conservavi), et mehercule semper sic in animo habui, te in meo aere esse propter Lamiae nostri coniunctionem et singularem necessitudinem. Itaque primum tibi ago gratias, quod me omni molestia liberas; deinde impudentia prosequor; sed idem sarciam. Te enim semper sic colam et tuebor, ut quem diligentissime. Quintum fratrem meum, si me diligis, eo numero cura ut habeas, quo me. Ita magnum beneficium tuum magno cumulo auxeris.

LXIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. P. SILIO PROPR.

Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Non putavi fieri posse, ut mihi verba deessent; sed tamen in M. Laenio commendando desunt. Itaque

[a] Reading *quam plurimum pecuniae* with MH. Another reading is *quam primum pecunia* D and Cratander, "that the money should be paid at the earliest possible date," which is borne out by *in primis* above.

[b] It is not known what this was; it was probably the recovery of some heavy debt.

[c] *i.e.*, "entirely at my disposal," lit. "part of my own property."

[d] For Lamia see xi. 16. 2 and xii. 29.

[e] Lit. "patch it up."

[f] See xiv. 4. 2.

every effort, so far as your integrity and position permit, to get as much of the money as possible [a] paid to Pinnius on behalf of the people of Nicaea.

LXII

CICERO TO P. SILIUS, PROPRAETOR

Cilicia, probably late in 51 B.C.

I blessed you for what you did in the business of Atilius [b] (for though I came late, I was yet able, thanks to your kindness, to save an honourable Roman knight), and as a matter of fact I have always taken it for granted that I had you "in my pocket," [c] since our friend Lamia [d] had bound us together in so peculiarly close an association. So in the first place I thank you for freeing me from all awkwardness, and then I go further in shamelessness (but I shall make it good [e]; for I shall always honour and uphold *you* more conscientiously than anybody). It is about my brother Quintus; if you have any regard for me, see that you put him in the same category of regard as you do myself. So will you enhance your already great kindness by a great and crowning addition.

LXIII

CICERO TO P. SILIUS, PROPRAETOR

Laodicea, February, 50 B.C.

I never thought it could happen that words would fail me, but they do fail me nevertheless in commending M. Laenius.[f] I shall therefore explain the matter 1

rem tibi exponam paucis verbis; sed tamen, ut plane perspicere possis voluntatem meam. Incredibile est, quanti faciamus et ego et frater meus, qui mihi carissimus est, M. Laenium. Id fit cum plurimis eius officiis, tum summa probitate et singulari modestia. Eum ego a me invitissimus dimisi, cum propter familiaritatem et consuetudinis suavitatem, tum quod consilio eius fideli ac bono libenter utebar.
2 Sed vereor, ne iam mihi superesse verba putes, quae dixeram defutura. Commendo tibi hominem, sicut intellegis me, de quo ea supra scripserim, debere commendare; a teque vehementer etiam atque etiam peto, ut, quod habet in tua provincia negoti, expedias, quod tibi videbitur rectum esse, ipsi dicas. Hominem facillimum liberalissimumque cognosces. Itaque te rogo, ut eum solutum, liberum, confectis eius negotiis per te, quam primum ad me remittas. Id mihi fratique meo gratissimum feceris.

LXIV

M. T. C. S. D. P. SILIO PROPR.

In Cilicia, A.U.C. 703.

1 Nero meus mirificas apud me tibi gratias egit, prorsus incredibiles, ut nullum honorem sibi haberi

[a] Tiberius Claudius Nero, father of the emperor Tiberius, impeached Gabinius in 54 (*Q.F.* iii. 1. 15, and 2. 1). He visited Cicero in Cilicia to arrange a marriage with Tullia, but she had already become betrothed to Dolabella. Nero afterwards married Livia Drusilla, whom he had to resign in later life to be the wife of Augustus.

to you in a few words, and yet in such a way as to give you a clear appreciation of my friendly feeling for him. You cannot believe how highly both my brother, who is very dear to me, and myself esteem M. Laenius. It is the result not only of his numerous services to me, but also of his unimpeachable integrity, and singularly unassuming demeanour. I parted with him with the greatest reluctance, not only on account of our intimacy and the charm of our intercourse, but also because it was a pleasure to me to avail myself of his counsel, as honest as it was sound.

But I fear you will think I have a superfluity of 2
words after saying that I should run short of them. Well, I commend the man to you as heartily as I am bound to commend one of whom I have written such words as the above; and I earnestly beg of you again and again to expedite such business as he has in your province, and to give him personally such information as you think proper. You will find him a most affable and gentlemanly fellow. And so I ask you to send him back to me as soon as you can, unembarrassed, free, and with all his business settled as far as you are concerned in it. Your doing so will greatly gratify my brother and myself.

LXIV

CICERO TO P. SILIUS, PROPRAETOR

Cilicia, probably late in 51 B.C.

My friend Nero [a] has expressed to me his gratitude 1
to you in terms of amazing, nay, absolutely unimaginable warmth, declaring that no honour could

potuisse diceret, qui a te praetermissus esset. Magnum fructum ex ipso capies; nihil est enim illo adulescente gratius. Sed mehercule mihi quoque gratissimum fecisti; pluris enim ex omni nobilitate neminem facio. Itaque, si ea feceris, quae ille per me tecum agi voluit, gratissimum mihi feceris. Primum de Pausania Alabandensi, sustentes rem, dum Nero veniat. Vehementer eius causa cupere eum intellexi; itaque hoc valde te rogo. Deinde Nysaeos, quos Nero in primis habet necessarios diligentissimeque tuetur ac defendit, habeas tibi commendatissimos; ut intellegat illa civitas, sibi in Neronis patrocinio summum esse praesidium. Strabonem Servilium tibi saepe commendavi; nunc eo facio id impensius, quod eius causam Nero suscepit. Tantum a te petimus, ut agas eam rem, ne relinquas hominem innocentem ad alicuius tui dissimilis quaestum. Id cum gratum mihi erit, tum etiam existimabo, te humanitate tua esse usum.

2 Summa huius epistulae haec est, ut ornes omnibus rebus Neronem, sicut instituisti atque fecisti. Magnum theatrum habet ista provincia, non ut haec nostra, ad adulescentis nobilis, ingeniosi, abstinentis commendationem atque gloriam. Quare, si te fautore usus erit, sicuti profecto et utetur et usus est,

[a] The people of Nysa in Caria.

possibly have been done him which you omitted to do him. You will gain much by personal intercourse with him, for that young man is the most grateful fellow in the world. But I positively assure you that you have done me too the greatest favour; for there is nobody among the aristocracy I esteem more highly. If, therefore, you do what he wished to get done through my pleading with you, you will have done me the greatest possible favour. First then, as to Pausanias of Alabanda, hold the matter open until Nero arrives. I gathered that he was extremely anxious to promote Pausanias's interests; so this is a request I strongly urge upon you. In the next place regard the Nysaeans [a] as warmly commended to you, for Nero regards them as his particular friends, and supports and protects them with the utmost devotion. Do this to make that State believe that their main defence lies in the patronage of Nero. Strabo Servilius I have often commended to you; I do so now all the more emphatically because Nero has taken up his case. All I ask of you is to press the business on so as not to leave an innocent man to the mercies of some avaricious governor unlike yourself. Not only will that be a favour to me, but I shall also consider that you have exhibited your customary kindness.

The whole point of this letter is, that you should 2
promote Nero's honour in every respect, as indeed you have done from the beginning. Your province, unlike this of mine, affords a prominent stage for the applause and glorification of a youth of high birth, ability, and unselfish character. If, therefore, he has the advantage of your patronage, as he assuredly will have, and has had in the past, it will enable him

amplissimas clientelas, acceptas a maioribus, confirmare poterit et beneficiis suis obligare. Hoc in genere si eum adiuveris eo studio, quo ostendisti, apud ipsum praeclarissime posueris, sed mihi etiam gratissimum feceris.

LXV

M. T. C. S. D. P. SILIO PROPR.

In Cilicia, A.U.C. 703.

1 Cum P. Terentio Hispone, qui operas in scriptura pro magistro dat, mihi summa familiaritas consuetudoque est, multaque et magna inter nos officia paria et mutua intercedunt. Eius summa existimatio agitur in eo, ut pactiones cum civitatibus reliquis conficiat. Non me praeterit, nos eam rem Ephesi expertos esse, neque ab Ephesiis ullo modo impetrare potuisse. Sed quoniam, quemadmodum omnes existimant, et ego intellego, tua cum summa integritate, tum singulari humanitate et mansuetudine consecutus es, ut, libentissimis Graecis, nutu, quod velis, consequare, peto a te in maiorem modum, ut honoris mei
2 causa hac laude Hisponem affici velis. Praeterea cum

[a] A connexion of Cicero's through his wife Terentia.

[b] Such part of the *ager publicus* as could not be cultivated was let out for grazing. It was let out by the censors to the grazing company of the *publicani*, called *scripturarii*, from *scriptura*, as the tax was called, paid by provincials for the right of grazing, since they had to register (*scribere*) their names and the number and kind of animals. All such companies of the *publicani* had a chairman at Rome (*manceps*, or *princeps societatis*), an annually elected managing director (*magister societatis*) at Rome, and a deputy-manager (*promagistro*) in the provinces or where the *scriptura* was collected. Tyrrell.

to strengthen, and by his acts of kindness to oblige, highly influential bodies of clients bequeathed to him by his ancestors. If in this connexion you assist him with that devotion you have shown him in the past, you will have made a brilliant investment as regards the young man himself, but more than that, you will have done me too a special favour.

LXV

CICERO TO P. SILIUS, PROPRAETOR

Cilicia, probably late in 51 B.C.

P. Terentius Hispo,[a] who is employed in the 1
collection of grazing-dues as deputy-manager,[b] is a man with whom I am on the most familiar terms and in constant communication, and we have done each other many a good service with equal advantage to each of us. His reputation mainly depends upon his settling his contracts with the rest of the states. It does not slip my memory that we experienced that difficulty at Ephesus, and that we could elicit no response whatever from the Ephesians. But now that, as everybody believes and I am convinced, you have so managed matters by your perfect integrity as well as by your exceptional courtesy and gentleness that you can obtain whatever you desire by a single nod with the heartiest consent of the Greeks, I beg of you with more than ordinary earnestness, out of compliment to myself, to be good enough to let Hispo have the benefit of this praiseworthy achievement.

There is this too; I am myself closely associated 2

sociis scripturae mihi summa necessitudo est, non solum ob eam causam, quod ea societas universa in mea fide est, sed etiam quod plerisque sociis utor familiarissime. Ita et Hisponem meum per me ornaris et societatem mihi coniunctiorem feceris, tuque ipse et ex huius observantia gratissimi hominis, et ex sociorum gratia, hominum amplissimorum, maximum fructum capies, et me summo beneficio affeceris. Sic enim velim existimes, ex tota tua provincia omnique isto imperio, nihil esse, quod mihi gratius facere possis.

LXVI

M. T. C. S. D. P. SERVILIO PROPR.

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 A. Caecinam maxime proprium clientem familiae vestrae non commendarem tibi, cum scirem qua fide in tuos, qua clementia in calamitosos soleres esse, nisi me et patris eius, quo sum familiarissime usus, memoria, et huius fortuna ita moveret, ut hominis omnibus mecum studiis officiisque coniunctissimi movere debebat. A te hoc omni contentione peto, sic, ut maiore cura, maiore animi labore petere non possim, ut ad ea, quae tua sponte sine cuiusquam

[a] P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, son of the Servilius who gained the title by his victory over the pirates of Isauria in 78, was in his earlier days an aristocrat and a follower of Cato. He was praetor in 54, and in 48 he was consul with Caesar and opposed the revolutionary projects of Caelius Rufus. In 46 he was governor of Asia.

[b] For A. Caecina see vi. 5-9.

with the partners in the grazing company, not only because I am the confidential adviser of the whole body, but also because I am on the most familiar terms with the majority of the partners. You will thus have conferred distinction on my friend Hispo at my intercession, and bound the company more closely to me, and you yourself will reap a rich reward in the respectful regard of this most grateful of men, as well as in the gratitude of partners who are men of the highest position, while you will have done me the greatest possible kindness. Indeed, I would have you believe that in the whole of your province and in the whole sphere of your imperial government there is nothing you could do that would give me greater pleasure.

LXVI

CICERO TO P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS,[a] PROPRAETOR

Rome, probably in January, 45 B.C.

Being well aware how loyal to your friends and 1
how merciful to those who have lost their civil rights you have always been, I should not think it necessary to commend to you A. Caecina,[b] a client in a very special sense of your own family, were it not that the memory of his father, a very intimate friend of mine, as well as his own ill-fortune, affected me in such a way as the ill-fortune of one so closely connected with me by every sort of common interest and service was bound to affect me. This is what I implore you with all possible urgency to do (and I could make no appeal with greater sincerity or more solicitude of soul) that over and above all you would do of your own

commendatione faceres in hominem tantum et talem calamitosum, aliquem afferant cumulum meae litterae, quo studiosius eum, quibuscumque rebus possis,
2 iuves. Quod si Romae fuisses, etiam salutem A. Caecinae essemus (ut opinio mea fert) per te consecuti. De qua tamen magnam spem habemus, freti clementia collegae tui. Nunc, cum tuam iustitiam secutus tutissimum sibi portum provinciam istam esse duxit, etiam atque etiam te rogo atque oro, ut eum et in reliquiis veteris negotiationis colligendis iuves, et ceteris rebus tegas atque tueare. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes.

LXVII

M. T. C. S. D. P. SERVILIO PROPR.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Ex provincia mea Ciliciensi, cui scis τρεῖς διοικήσεις Asiaticas attributas fuisse, nullo sum familiarius usus, quam Androne, Artemonis filio, Laodicensi, eumque habui in ea civitate cum hospitem, tum vehementer ad meae vitae rationem et consuetudinem accommodatum. Quem quidem multo etiam pluris postea, quam decessi, facere coepi, quod multis rebus expertus sum gratum hominem meique memorem.

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[a] Caesar, who was Servilius's colleague, both as augur, and in 48 as consul.

[b] *Viz.* Synnada, Cibyra, and Apamea, *cf.* iii. 8. 5. διοίκησις was an assize-district.

accord, without any extraneous recommendation, for one so eminent and so deserving, now that he is under a cloud you should allow my letter to add a sort of stimulus to your generosity, and induce you to assist him even more assiduously in whatever way you can.

Now had you been at Rome, we should have 2
actually brought about the recall of A. Caecina (as I am inclined to think) through your instrumentality. Of that, however, I am still very hopeful, because I believe in your colleague's[a] clemency. Now that, attracted by the beacon of your justice, he has decided that he can find no safer haven than your province, I ask and implore you again and again not only to help him in gathering together what is left of his old business, but also to shield and protect him in all other respects. There is nothing you can do that will give me greater pleasure.

LXVII

CICERO TO P. SERVILIUS, PROPRAETOR

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

In all my province of Cilicia—and you are aware 1
that three Asiatic dioceses[b] have been assigned to it —I have been more intimate with nobody than with Andro of Laodicea, the son of Artemo, and in that community I found in him not only a hospitable friend, but a man extraordinarily well suited to my habitual scheme of life; though it is true that since I quitted my province I have begun to value him a great deal more highly, having had many proofs of his gratitude and unforgetfulness of what I had done for him. It

Itaque eum Romae libentissime vidi. Non te enim fugit, qui plurimis in ista provincia benigne fecisti,
2 quam multi grati reperiantur. Haec propterea scripsi, ut et me non sine causa laborare intellegeres, et tu ipse eum dignum hospitio tuo iudicares. Feceris igitur mihi gratissimum, si ei declararis, quanti me facias, id est, si receperis eum in fidem tuam et, quibuscumque rebus honeste ac sine molestia tua poteris, adiuveris. Hoc mihi erit vehementer gratum, idque ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo.

LXVIII

M. T. C. S. D. P. SERVILIO ISAURICO PROC. COLLEGAE

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Gratae mihi vehementer tuae litterae fuerunt, ex quibus cognovi cursus navigationum tuarum. Significabas enim memoriam tuam nostrae necessitudinis, qua mihi nihil poterat esse iucundius. Quod reliquum est, multo etiam erit gratius, si ad me de republica, id est, de statu provinciae, de institutis tuis familiariter scribes. Quae quamquam ex multis pro tua claritate audiam, tamen libentissime ex tuis

[a] *i.e.*, "how few."

[b] Cicero, Servilius, and Caesar were colleagues in the College of Augurs, *cf.* § 2.

follows that it was a great pleasure to me to see him at Rome. For you cannot have failed to notice (you who have shown generosity to such numbers of people in your province) what proportion of them are found to be grateful.[a]

I have a double object in writing thus—so that 2
you may understand that I have good reason for taking the trouble, and so that you yourself may deem the man worthy of your hospitality. You will therefore do me the greatest favour if you make it manifest to him how highly you value me—in other words, if you take him under your protection and assist him in whatever way you can consistently with your honour and convenience. That will give me extreme pleasure, and I ask you again and again to do so.

LXVIII

CICERO TO HIS COLLEAGUE[b] P. SERVILIUS, PROCONSUL

Rome, September, 46 B.C.

I was exceedingly pleased with your letter which 1
gave me the routes of your various voyagings; for you implied thereby that you had not forgotten our close association, which was the greatest joy of my life. As to the future, it will give me even greater pleasure if you write and tell me in a friendly way all about public affairs,—in other words, about the situation in your province, and the particulars of your administration; and although, celebrated man as you are, I shall be told all this by many others, I should like best of all to get the information out of a letter from you.

2 litteris cognoscam. Ego ad te, de reipublicae summa quid sentiam, non saepe scribam, propter periculum eiusmodi litterarum. Quid agatur autem, scribam saepius. Sperare tamen videor, Caesari, collegae nostro, fore curae et esse, ut habeamus aliquam rempublicam; cuius consiliis magni referebat te interesse. Sed si tibi utilius est, id est gloriosius, Asiae praeesse et istam partem reipublicae male affectam tueri, mihi quoque idem, quod tibi et laudi
3 tuae profuturum est, optatius debet esse. Ego, quae ad tuam dignitatem pertinere arbitrabor, summo studio diligentiaque curabo, in primisque tuebor omni observantia clarissimum virum, patrem tuum; quod et pro vetustate necessitudinis, et pro beneficiis vestris, et pro dignitate ipsius facere debeo.

LXIX

M. T. C. S. D. P. SERVILIO COLLEGAE

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 C. Curtius Mithres est ille quidem, ut scis, libertus Postumi, familiarissimi mei; sed me colit et observat aeque atque illum ipsum patronum suum. Apud eum ego sic Ephesi fui, quotiescumque fui, tamquam domi meae; multaque acciderunt, in quibus et

[a] Consul in 79; he gained the title of Isauricus in the following year. See *Ep.* 66. 1 note *a* above.

For my own part, I shall not often write and tell you what I think about politics in general, since a letter of that sort has its dangers; but about what is actually going on, I shall write more often. In spite of all, I am not, I think, without hope that our colleague Caesar will be, and indeed is, anxious that we should have a constitution worthy the name; and it was of great importance that you should play your part in his deliberations. But if it is more to your advantage, by which I mean, more to your honour and glory, that you should be governor of Asia and look after that part of the Republic, a part which has suffered so cruelly, I too ought to pray preferably for just that which is likely to be of benefit both to yourself and to your reputation. 2

I shall attend with the utmost zeal and assiduity to whatever I consider affects your prestige, and most particularly shall I uphold in all reverence the dignity of that most distinguished man, your father[a]; and indeed it is no less than my duty to do so, considering our long-standing friendship, the kindnesses you have both done me, and the honour due to your father himself. 3

LXIX

CICERO TO HIS COLLEAGUE P. SERVILIUS

Rome, month uncertain, 46 B.C.

C. Curtius Mithres is, of course, as you are aware, the freedman of my very dear friend Postumus, but he has as much respect and regard for me as he has for his patron himself. At Ephesus, whenever I happened to be there, I was as much at home in his house as in my own, and many things have occurred 1

benevolentiam eius erga me experirer et fidem. Itaque si quid aut mihi, aut meorum cuipiam in Asia opus est, ad hunc scribere consuevi, huius cum opera et fide, tum domo et re uti, tamquam mea. Haec ad te eo pluribus scripsi, ut intellegeres, me non vulgari more,[1] nec ambitiose, sed ut pro homine intimo ac
2 mihi pernecessario scribere. Peto igitur a te, ut in ea controversia, quam habet de fundo cum quodam Colophonio, et in ceteris rebus, quantum fides tua patietur, quantumque tuo commodo poteris, tantum et honoris mei causa commodes; etsi, ut eius modestiam cognovi, gravis tibi nulla in re erit. Si et mea commendatione et sua probitate assecutus erit, uti de se bene existimes, omnia se adeptum arbitrabitur. Ut igitur eum recipias in fidem, habeasque in numero tuorum, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Ego, quae te velle, quaeque ad te pertinere arbitrabor, omnia studiose diligenterque curabo.

LXX

M. T. C. S. P. D. P. SERVILIO COLLEGAE

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

Quia non est obscura tua in me benevolentia, sic fit ut multi per me tibi velint commendari. Ego

[1] *Klotz*: vulgariter *Nobbe*.

to afford me proof of his kindly feeling and loyalty towards me. And so, if either I or any of my friends want anything done in Asia, I have got into the habit of writing to him, and of availing myself of his services and devotion, and indeed of his house and purse, as though they were my own. I have written all this to you at greater length than usual in order to impress upon you that I am not writing in a conventional sort of way or with any interested motives, but simply on behalf of a man with whom I am very intimate and very closely associated.

I therefore beg of you, in the lawsuit he has on hand 2
with a certain Colophonian about some landed property, to serve his interests (and it will be a compliment to myself also) so far as you possibly can compatibly with your probity, and without trouble to yourself; though, from what I know of his propriety of conduct, you will not find him anything of an incubus. If through my recommendation and his own integrity he succeeds in winning your good opinion, he will think that he has got all he wants. I therefore earnestly urge you again and again to take him under your wing, and count him among the number of your friends. As for myself, I shall attend devotedly and punctiliously to whatever I think you desire, or whatever concerns your interests.

LXX

CICERO TO HIS COLLEAGUE P. SERVILIUS

Rome, month uncertain, 46 B.C.

Because your friendly feeling for me is manifest to all, it naturally follows that many people desire that I should be the medium of their recommendation to

autem tribuo nonnumquam in vulgus, sed plerumque necessariis, ut hoc tempore. Nam cum T. Ampio Balbo mihi summa familiaritas necessitudoque est. Eius libertum, T. Ampium Menandrum, hominem frugi et modestum et patrono et nobis vehementer probatum, tibi commendo maiorem in modum. Vehementer mihi gratum feceris, si, quibuscumque rebus sine tua molestia poteris, ei commodaris. Quod ut facias, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

LXXI

M. T. C. S. D. P. SERVILIO COLLEGAE

Romae, A U.C. 708.

Multos tibi commendem necesse est, quonium omnibus nota nostra necessitudo est tuaque erga me benevolentia. Sed tamen etsi omnium causa, quos commendo, velle debeo, tamen cum omnibus non eadem mihi causa est. T. Agusius et comes meus fuit illo miserrimo tempore et omnium itinerum, navigationum, laborum, periculorum meorum socius; neque hoc tempore discessisset a me, nisi ego ei permisissem. Quare sic tibi eum commendo, ut unum de meis domesticis et maxime necessariis. Pergratum mihi feceris, si eum ita tractaris, ut intellegat, hanc commendationem sibi magno usu atque adiumento fuisse.

[a] The *tuba belli civilis*; see ii. 16. 3.

you. Now I do sometimes confer this favour indiscriminately, but I do so for the most part on my particular friends, as on the present occasion. I am extremely familiar and closely associated with T. Ampius Balbus[a]; his freedman T. Ampius Menander, a sterling and unassuming fellow, is greatly esteemed both by his patron and myself, and I commend him to you with more than ordinary warmth. You will do me a particular favour if you serve his interests in whatever way you can without inconveniencing yourself, and I earnestly beg you again and again to do so.

LXXI

CICERO TO HIS COLLEAGUE P. SERVILIUS

Rome, month uncertain, 46 B.C.

Now that our intimacy and your goodwill towards me is a matter of common knowledge, I find myself obliged to recommend ever so many people to you. But although all whom I recommend ought to have my best wishes, I have not the same reason for such wishes in every case. T. Agusius was not only my companion during the most miserable period of my life, but also shared with me all my journeys, voyages, troubles, and dangers; nor would he have left my side at the present time, had I not given him permission. That is the reason I recommend him to you as being one of my own household, and one of those most closely attached to me. You will do me a very great favour by so treating him as to convince him that this recommendation has been of material service and assistance to him.

LXXII

M. T. C. S. D. P. SERVILIO COLLEGAE

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Caerelliae, necessariae meae, rem, nomina, possessiones Asiaticas commendavi tibi praesens in hortis tuis, quam potui diligentissime; tuque mihi, pro tua consuetudine, proque tuis in me perpetuis maximisque officiis, omnia te facturum liberalissime recepisti. Meminisse te id spero; scio enim solere. Sed tamen Caerelliae procuratores scripserunt, te propter magnitudinem provinciae multitudinemque negotiorum etiam atque etiam esse commonefacien-
2 dum. Peto igitur, ut memineris, te omnia, quae tua fides pateretur, mihi cumulate recepisse. Equidem existimo, habere te magnam facultatem (sed hoc est tui consili et iudici) ex eo senatus consulto, quod in heredes C. Vennoni factum est, Caerelliae commodandi. Id senatus consultum tu interpretabere pro tua sapientia. Scio enim eius ordinis auctoritatem semper apud te magni fuisse. Quod reliquum est, sic velim existimes, quibuscumque rebus Caerelliae benigne feceris, mihi te gratissimum esse facturum.

[a] A rich and accomplished lady frequently mentioned by Cicero in his letters to Atticus. She copied out the *De Finibus*. It appears from *Att.* xii. 51. 3 that Cicero once borrowed money from her, which Atticus considered unworthy of his position.

[b] Tyrrell thinks this was a *senatus consultum* passed to meet a special case in violation of the laws, another instance of which is described in *Att.* v. 21. 12.

LXXII

CICERO TO HIS COLLEAGUE P. SERVILIUS

Rome, month uncertain, 46 B.C.

As regards the estate, investments, and Asiatic 1
possessions of my intimate friend Caerellia,[a] I commended them to you as particularly as I could when I was with you in your pleasure-garden; and you, in accordance with your custom, and your unfailing and substantial services to me, most handsomely guaranteed that you would do everything you could. I hope you remember that; I know you don't often forget. But, be that as it may, Caerellia's agents have written to me that, on account of the size of your province, and your numerous business engagements, you have to be reminded of that promise again and again.

I therefore beg of you to remember that you guaran- 2
teed to me that you would do everything compatible with your honour without any reserve whatever. Now I believe you have an excellent opportunity (though it is a matter for your own deliberation and judgment) of obliging Caerellia, arising out of that decree of the Senate which was passed in reference to the heirs of C. Vennonius.[b] In the interpretation of that decree you will use your own wisdom. I know that the authority of that order has always been of importance in your eyes. As to what remains to be done, I would have you believe that in whatever respects you prove your kindness to Caerellia you will do me the greatest possible favour.

LXXIII

M. T. C. S. D. Q. PHILIPPO PROCOS.

Anno incerto.

1 Gratulor tibi, quod ex provincia salvum te ad tuos recepisti, incolumi fama et republica. Quod si Romae te vidissem, coram gratias egissem, quod tibi L. Egnatius, familiarissimus meus absens, L. Oppius
2 praesens curae fuisset. Cum Antipatro Derbete mihi non solum hospitium, verum etiam summa familiaritas intercedit. Ei te vehementer succensuisse audivi, et moleste tuli. De re nihil possum iudicare, nisi illud mihi certe persuadeo, te, talem virum, nihil temere fecisse. A te autem, pro vetere nostra necessitudine, etiam atque etiam peto, ut eius filios, qui in tua potestate sunt, mihi potissimum condones, nisi quid existimas in ea re violari existimationem tuam. Quod ego si arbitrarer, numquam te rogarem, mihique tua fama multo antiquior esset, quam illa necessitudo est. Sed mihi ita persuadeo (potest fieri, ut fallar), eam rem laudi tibi potius quam vituperationi fore. Quid fieri possit, et quid mea causa facere possis (nam, quin velis, non dubito), velim, si tibi grave non erit, certiorem me facias.

[a] Q. Marcius Philippus appears to have been governor of Asia, though in what year is unknown.
[b] Both he and L. Oppius were bankers in Philippus's province. See *Epp*. 44 and 45 above.
[c] Derbe was in Lycaonia. Nothing more is known of Antipater.

LXXIII

CICERO TO Q. PHILIPPUS,[a] PROCONSUL

Year uncertain.

I congratulate you on your safe return from your province with your reputation unimpaired and the commonwealth intact. But had I seen you at Rome, I should have thanked you in person for having shown a kindly interest in my very intimate friend, L. Egnatius,[b] who was not on the spot, and in L. Oppius, who was. 1

With Antipater of Derbe[c] I have ties not only of mutual hospitality but also of the closest intimacy. I am told that you have been exceedingly angry with him, and it distressed me. As for the facts, I am not in a position to pass any judgment, but of this I am very sure, that being the man you are, you have done nothing without due consideration. Anyhow, in view of our long-standing association, I beg of you again and again, as a special favour to myself, to refrain from taking any action against his sons, who are at your mercy—unless of course you think that to do so involves an outrage upon your reputation. If I thought so, I should never make this request, and your fair name would weigh far more with me than the association I have mentioned. But I try to persuade myself (it is possible that I may be mistaken) that your doing so will prove a credit to you rather than a handle for abuse. 2

As to what can be done, and what you can do for me (of your willingness I have no doubt), I should like you, if it will be no trouble to you, to send me word.

LXXIV

M. T. C. S. D. Q. PHILIPPO PROCOS.

Romae, A.U.C. 699 (?).

Etsi non dubito, pro tua in me observantia, proque nostra necessitudine, quin commendationem meam memoria teneas, tamen etiam atque etiam eumdem tibi L. Oppium, familiarem meum, praesentem, et L. Egnati, familiarissimi mei, absentis negotia commendo. Tanta mihi cum eo necessitudo est familiaritasque, ut, si mea res esset, non magis laborarem. Quapropter gratissimum mihi feceris, si curaris, ut is intellegat, me a te tantum amari, quantum ipse existimo. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes. Itaque ut facias, te vehementer rogo.

LXXV

M. T. C. S. D. T. TITIO T. F. LEGATO

Romae, A.U.C. 701.

1 Etsi non dubito, quin apud te mea commendatio prima satis valeat, tamen obsequor homini familiarissimo, C. Avianio Flacco, cuius causa omnia tum cupio, tum mehercule etiam debeo. De quo et praesens tecum egi diligenter, cum tu mihi humanissime respondisti, et scripsi ad te accurate

[a] This Titius was a *legatus* of Pompey, when the latter was *praefectus annonae* (Minister of the Corn Supply).

[b] Avianius was apparently a corn-factor who had enjoyed under Pompey certain privileges as to the time and place for the delivery of corn, which privileges Cicero asks Titius to enable Avianius to retain.

LXXIV

CICERO TO Q. PHILIPPUS, PROCONSUL

Rome, (?) in 55 B.C.

Although I doubt not, considering the deference you show me and our close association, that you bear my recommendation in mind, yet I commend to you again and again my dear friend, that same L. Oppius who is with you, as also the business affairs of my dear friend, L. Egnatius, who is not. So close is my association and intimacy with him that I could not be more anxious if it were my own affair. On that account you will do me the greatest favour if you make a point of giving him the impression that your affection for me is as sincere as I myself believe it to be. There is nothing you can do that would please me more; and so I earnestly beg of you to do it.

LXXV

CICERO TO T. TITIUS, LEGATUS[a]

Rome, 53 B.C.

Although I doubt not that my first recommendation carries quite enough weight with you, I nevertheless accede to the request of C. Avianius Flaccus[b] with whom I am on most intimate terms, and I wish him every success, as indeed I am bound to do. It was about him that I urgently pleaded with you in person, when you replied to me with the utmost courtesy, and in a previous letter to you I gave you full particulars; 1

antea; sed putat interesse sua, me ad te quam saepissime scribere. Quare velim mihi ignoscas, si illius voluntati obtemperans minus videbor memi-
2 nisse constantiae tuae. A te idem illud peto, ut de loco, quo deportet frumentum, et de tempore Avianio commodes; quorum utrumque per eundem me obtinuit triennium, dum Pompeius isti negotio praefuit. Summa est, in quo mihi gratissimum facere possis, si curaris, ut Avianius, quoniam se a me amari putat, me a te amari sciat. Erit id mihi pergratum.

LXXVI

M. T. C. S. D. QUATT. VIRIS ET DECURIONIBUS

Romae, anno incerto.

1 Tantae mihi cum Q. Hippio causae necessitudinis sunt, ut nihil possit esse coniunctius quam nos inter nos sumus. Quod nisi ita esset, uterer mea consuetudine, ut vobis nulla in re molestus essem. Etenim vos mihi optimi testes estis, cum mihi persuasum esset, nihil esse, quod a vobis impetrare non possem, numquam me tamen gravem vobis esse
2 voluisse. Vehementer igitur vos etiam atque etiam rogo, ut honoris mei causa liberalissime C. Valgium

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[a] The time and place of the delivery was of course of the utmost importance, and Avianius seems to have been given *carte blanche* in both respects.

[b] That this letter is addressed to some *municipium* or other is evident from the terms used, *IVviri* and *decuriones*, the latter being the senators of a *municipium*; but we know no more. Tyrrell suggests that it might have been

but he imagines it to be of importance to him that I should write to you as frequently as possible. So please forgive me if in thus complying with his wishes I lead you to suspect that my recollection of your constancy is not as clear as it should be.

I also make this further request of you—to accom- 2
modate Avianius as regards both the place and the time at which he is to discharge his corn.[a] It was through me also that he secured both these privileges for a term of three years, when Pompey was in chief charge of that business. The main point is this (and you might greatly oblige me in that respect), that you should make it your object to convince Avianius, since he already assumes my affection for him, of your affection for me. That will give me great pleasure.

LXXVI

CICERO TO THE QUATTUORVIRI AND DECURIONES[b]

Rome, date uncertain.

So strong are the reasons for my association with 1
Q. Hippius that nothing could be closer than the ties which bind us. Were it not so, I should observe my usual practice and avoid giving you the slightest trouble. Indeed, you yourselves can best testify to the fact that, though I was convinced I could make no request of you which you would not grant, it has never been my wish to impose a burden upon you.

I therefore earnestly beg you again and again to 2
pay me the compliment of treating C. Valgius

Fabrateria, a restoration of Fregellae (on the Liris in Latium), under a new name.

Hippianum tractetis, remque cum eo conficiatis, ut, quam possessionem habet in agro Fregellano, a vobis emptam, eam liberam et immunem habere possit. Id si a vobis impetraro, summo me beneficio vestro affectum arbitrabor.

LXXVII

M. T. C. S. D. P. SULPICIO IMP.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Cum his temporibus non sane in senatum ventitarem, tamen, ut tuas litteras legi, non existimavi me salvo iure nostrae veteris amicitiae multorumque inter nos officiorum facere posse, ut honori tuo deessem. Itaque adfui, supplicationemque tibi libenter decrevi; nec reliquo tempore ullo aut rei aut existimationi aut dignitati tuae deero. Atque, hoc ut tui necessarii sciant, hoc me animo erga te esse, velim facias eos per litteras certiores, ut, si quid tibi opus sit, ne dubitent mihi iure suo
2 denuntiare. M. Bolanum, virum bonum et fortem et omnibus rebus ornatum, meumque veterem amicum, tibi magno opere commendo. Pergratum mihi feceris, si curaris, ut is intellegat, hanc commendationem sibi magno adiumento fuisse. Ip-

[a] The son of the distinguished jurist (for whom see iv. 1. 1, note *a*). This Sulpicius was commander-in-chief of the forces in Illyricum during 46, as Vatinius was in 45 and 43 (v. 9 *sqq.*).

[b] Nothing more is known of him.

Hippianus as handsomely as you can, and so arrange matters with him that his tenure of the estate which he holds after purchase from you in the territory of Fregellae may be free of charge and clear of obligations. If you accede to this request of mine, I shall consider that you have done me a very great kindness.

LXXVII

CICERO WITH HEARTIEST GREETINGS TO P. SULPICIUS RUFUS,[a] IMPERATOR

Rome, Autumn, 46 B.C.

Although in these days I am not very regular in 1
my attendance at the Senate, yet, after reading your letter, I did not think I could possibly fail to support your claims to honour without prejudice to our long-standing friendship and our many mutual services. That being so, I was in my place, and it gave me pleasure to vote for a *supplicatio* in your honour; and on no occasion in the future shall I fail to support your interests, reputation, or position. Moreover, so that your relatives may be assured of this feeling I have for you, I should like you to write and tell them so, in order that, if you have any need of help, they may not hesitate to give me a clear intimation to that effect, as they have a perfect right to do.

M. Bolanus[b] is a person I warmly commend to you, 2
as being a good and gallant man, possessing every accomplishment, and an old friend of mine. You will do me a favour if you take care to make him feel that this recommendation has proved of material service to

sumque virum optimum gratissimumque cognosces. Promitto tibi, te ex eius amicitia magnam volup-
3 tatem esse capturum. Praeterea a te peto in maiorem modum pro nostra amicitia et pro tuo perpetuo in me studio, ut in hac re etiam elabores: Dionysius, servus meus, qui meam bibliothecen multorum nummorum tractavit, cum multos libros surripuisset nec se impune laturum putaret, aufugit. Is est in provincia tua. Eum et M. Bolanus, familiaris meus, et multi alii Naronae viderunt; sed cum se a me manumissum esse diceret, crediderunt. Hunc tu si mihi restituendum curaris, non possum dicere, quam mihi gratum futurum sit. Res ipsa parva, sed animi mei dolor magnus est. Ubi sit, et quid fieri possit, Bolanus te docebit. Ego si hominem per te reciperaro, summo me a te beneficio affectum arbitrabor.

LXXVIII

M. T. C. S. D. ALLIENO PROCOS.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Democritus Sicyonius non solum hospes meus est, sed etiam, quod non multis contigit, Graecis praesertim, valde familiaris. Est enim in eo summa probitas, summa virtus, summa in hospites liberalitas

[a] On the coast of Illyria, between Histria and Dyrrachium.

[b] Of Sicily. In 60 Allienus was one of Cicero's *legati* in Asia, and in 49 was a praetor. In 43 he was a *legatus* of Dolabella, but surrendered to Cassius. See xii. 11. 1 and 12. 1.

him. And you will find the man himself too an excellent fellow and full of gratitude. I promise you that you will get no little pleasure out of your friendship with him.

There is this too; I beg of you more earnestly 3
than usual, in the name of our friendship and your unvarying devotion to me, to take particular pains in the following matter also: my slave Dionysius, who had the charge of my very costly library, having stolen a lot of books, and thinking that he would be punished for the theft, has absconded. He is in your province. Both my friend Bolanus and several others saw him at Narona,[a] but when he declared that I had given him his freedom, they took his word for it. If you charge yourself with the business of getting him back for me, I cannot tell you how delighted I shall be. It is a small thing in itself, but my annoyance is great. Bolanus will inform you where he is, and what can be done. If you are the means of my getting the rascal back, I shall consider that you have done me a very great kindness.

LXXVIII

CICERO TO AULUS ALLIENUS, PROCONSUL[b]

Rome, month uncertain, 46 B.C.

Democritus of Sicyon is not only on hospitable 1
terms, but also (and this does not happen in many such cases, especially if they are Greeks) on very intimate terms with me; for he is exceedingly honourable, exceedingly conscientious, and exceedingly generous

et observantia, meque praeter ceteros et colit et observat et diligit. Eum tu non modo suorum civium,
2 verum paene Achaiae principem cognosces. Huic ego tantummodo aditum ad tuam cognitionem patefacio et munio; cognitum per te ipsum, quae tua natura est, dignum tua amicitia atque hospitio iudicabis. Peto igitur a te, ut, his litteris lectis, recipias eum in tuam fidem, polliceare omnia te facturum mea causa. De reliquo, si, id quod confido, fore dignum eum tua amicitia hospitioque cognoveris, peto, ut eum complectare, diligas, in tuis habeas. Erit id mihi maiorem in modum gratum. Vale.

LXXIX

M. T. C. S. P. D. ALLIENO PROCOS.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

Et te scire arbitror, quanti fecerim C. Avianium Flaccum, et ego ex ipso audieram, optimo et gratissimo homine, quam a te liberaliter esset tractatus. Eius filios, dignissimos illo patre meosque necessarios, quos ego unice diligo, commendo tibi sic ut maiore studio nullos commendare possim. C. Avia-

[a] See *Epp.* 35 and 75 in this book.

and deferential in the dispensing of hospitality, and, as for myself, he venerates, respects, and esteems me more than he does anybody else. You will find him to be the chief man, not only among his fellow-citizens, but almost in the whole of Achaia.

Such is the man for whom I am merely opening the 2
door and paving the way to your acquaintance; when you know him, you will, with your innate sense of justice, pronounce him worthy of your friendship and hospitality on your own account.

I therefore beg of you, when you have perused this letter, to take him under your protection, and promise to do all you can for him for my sake. For the rest, if, as I am confident you will, you find that he is likely to be worthy of your friendship and hospitality, I beg of you to give him a hearty welcome, make much of him, and count him among your friends. That will give me more than ordinary pleasure.

LXXIX

CICERO TO A. ALLIENUS, PROCONSUL

Rome, month uncertain, 46 B.C.

I believe you know how highly I ever esteemed C. Avianius Flaccus,[a] and besides I have heard from his own lips, excellent and grateful man that he is, how generously he has been treated by you. It is his sons I now commend to you as being most worthy of such a father, and close friends of my own, of whom I am particularly fond, and there are no men I could commend to you with greater enthusiasm. C.

nius in Sicilia est. Marcus est nobiscum. Ut illius dignitatem praesentis ornes, rem utriusque defendas te rogo. Hoc mihi gratius in ista provincia facere nihil potes. Idque ut facias, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale.

Avianius is in Sicily, Marcus is with us. I ask you to advance the claims of the former, whom you have with you, and to protect the interests of both. There is nothing you can do in your province that would please me better, and I earnestly beg of you again and again to do so.

M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM AD FAMILIARES

LIBER DECIMUS QUARTUS

I

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE, TULLIOLAE SUAE, CICERONI SUO

Incohata Thessalonicae, finita Dyrrachi, A.U.C. 696.

1 Et litteris multorum et sermone omnium perfertur ad me, incredibilem tuam virtutem et fortitudinem esse teque nec animi, neque corporis laboribus defatigari. Me miserum! te, ista virtute, fide, probitate, humanitate, in tantas aerumnas propter me incidisse! Tulliolamque nostram, ex quo patre tantas voluptates capiebat, ex eo tantos percipere luctus! Nam quid ego de Cicerone dicam? qui cum primum sapere coepit, acerbissimos dolores miseriasque percepit. Quae si, ut tu scribis, fato facta putarem, ferrem paullo facilius; sed omnia sunt mea culpa commissa, qui ab iis me amari putabam, qui invidebant, eos non

[a] All the letters in this book are from Cicero to his wife Terentia and his family in Rome. Nothing is known of Terentia before her marriage with Cicero. She was a woman of sound common sense and firmness of character. It is doubtful whether Cicero's suspicions of her extravagance

CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

BOOK XIV

I

CICERO TO TERENTIA AND HIS FAMILY [a]

Begun at Thessalonica, finished at Dyrrachium, Nov. 25, 58 B.C.

I am kept informed by the letters of many and the 1
conversation of everybody that your courage and fortitude, Terentia, are beyond belief, and that you are not exhausted by your troubles either of mind or body. Woe is me! To think that you of all people, virtuous, faithful, upright, and generous as you are, should have fallen into such a morass of misery all on my account! And that our darling Tullia should feel that the very father who was her greatest delight is now the source of her greatest griefs! As to Cicero, why should I talk about *him*, since from the very dawn of his intelligence he has known the bitterest pangs of sorrow and misery? Could I but imagine that all this is (as you write) the work of destiny, I should bear it a little more easily; but it has all been brought about by my own fault, because I thought myself beloved by those who were

and dishonesty were justified. His letters show a gradual waning of his affection for her, and he divorced her in 46 B.C.

2 sequebar, qui petebant. Quod si nostris consiliis usi essemus, neque apud nos tantum valuisset sermo aut stultorum amicorum aut improborum, beatissimi viveremus. Nunc, quoniam sperare nos amici iubent, dabo operam, ne mea valetudo tuo labori desit. Res quanta sit, intellego, quantoque fuerit facilius manere domi, quam redire. Sed tamen, si omnes tribunos plebis habemus, si Lentulum tam studiosum, quam videtur, si vero etiam Pompeium et Caesarem, non
3 est desperandum. De familia, quomodo placuisse amicis scribis, faciemus. De loco nunc quidem iam abiit pestilentia; sed quamdiu fuit, me non attigit. Plancius, homo officiosissimus, me cupit esse secum et adhuc retinet. Ego volebam loco magis deserto esse in Epiro, quo neque Piso[1] veniret nec milites; sed adhuc Plancius me retinet. Sperat posse fieri, ut mecum in Italiam decedat. Quem ego diem si videro et si in vestrum complexum venero ac si et vos et me ipsum recuperaro, satis magnum mihi fructum videbor percepisse et vestrae pietatis et meae.
4 Pisonis humanitas, virtus, amor in omnes nos tantus est, ut nihil supra possit. Utinam ea res ei voluptati sit! gloriae quidem video fore. De Q. fratre nihil

[1] *Manutius, Drumann*: ipse *Nobbe*: Hispo *Vett.*

[a] He is perhaps alluding to Caesar, who had offered him a *legatio* in his army.

[b] Consul designate for 57 B.C. See i. 1. 1.

[c] Quaestor of Macedonia. Cicero never forgot his kindness and successfully defended him when accused of *ambitus* in 54.

[d] L. Piso, father of Caesar's wife Calpurnia, consul this year, would be coming to Macedonia as proconsul in 57. He was one of Cicero's bitterest enemies.

[e] C. Piso, who married Cicero's daughter Tullia in 63.

jealous of me, and turned away from those who sought me.[a]

Had I but followed my own judgment, and not 2
been so unduly influenced by the talk of either misguided or unscrupulous friends, I should now be living in perfect happiness. As it is, since my friends bid me have hope, I shall do my best to prevent my health from failing to further your efforts. I quite understand how difficult the thing was, and how much easier remaining at home was than returning. However, if we can count on all the tribunes and if on Lentulus's[b] being as enthusiastic as he appears to be, if above all on Pompey and Caesar, then there is no reason to despair.

In the matter of our slaves, we shall do what you 3
say our friends think best. As to this place, the epidemic, it is true, has now passed away, but even while it lasted it did not touch me. That most obliging fellow Plancius[c] desires me to live with him and won't let me go yet. My own wish was to be in some less frequented spot in Epirus where Piso[d] and his soldiers might not come, but Plancius won't let me go yet. He hopes it may be possible for him to leave for Italy in my company. If ever I see that day, and find myself in your arms, and feel that I have regained all of you as well as myself, I shall think that both your loyalty, and mine too, have met with an adequate reward.

Piso's[e] kindness, excellence of conduct, and affec- 4
tion for us all cannot possibly be exceeded. I pray that it may be a source of pleasure to him; that it will be a source of pride to him I feel sure. As to

He strenuously supported his father-in-law's recall from exile, but died before his return.

ego te accusavi ; sed vos, cum praesertim tam pauci
5 sitis, volui esse quam coniunctissimos. Quibus me voluisti agere gratias, egi, et me a te certiorem factum esse scripsi. Quod ad me, mea Terentia, scribis, te vicum vendituram, quid, obsecro te (me miserum!) quid futurum est? Et, si nos premet eadem fortuna, quid puero misero fiet? Non queo reliqua scribere (tanta vis lacrimarum est), neque te in eumdem fletum adducam. Tantum scribo : si erunt in officio amici, pecunia non deerit ; si non erunt, tu efficere tua pecunia non poteris. Per fortunas miseras nostras, vide, ne puerum perditum perdamus. Cui si aliquid erit, ne egeat, mediocri virtute opus est, et mediocri
6 fortuna, ut cetera consequatur. Fac valeas et ad me tabellarios mittas, ut sciam, quid agatur, et vos quid agatis. Mihi omnino iam brevis exspectatio est. Tulliolae et Ciceroni salutem dic. Valete. D. a. d. VI. Kalendas Decembres Dyrrachi.

7 Dyrrachium veni, quod et libera civitas est, et in me officiosa et proxima Italiae. Sed si offendet me loci celebritas, alio me conferam et ad te scribam.

[a] The circumstances of this disagreement are unknown.

my brother Quintus,[a] I make no charge against you, but it has ever been my wish that all of you, especially as there are so few of you, should be as closely united as possible.

I have thanked those whom you wished me to 5
thank, and have written that you were my informant. You tell me, my dear Terentia, that you intend selling your house-property ; in that case, what, I implore you (I am sadly worried about it), what is going to happen? And if we are dogged by the same ill-fortune, what will become of our poor boy? I cannot write what remains to be written, so irrepressible are my tears, and I would not make you too weep as bitterly. This much I do write—that if our friends remain loyal, money will be forthcoming ; if they do not, your own money will not enable you to do what you want. In the name of our own pitiful misfortunes, beware lest we ruin our already ruined boy. With something to stave off actual want, all he needs to attain everything else is a fair share of merit, and a fair share of luck.

Be sure you keep well, and send me letter-carriers 6
to let me know what is being done, and how you all are. In any case I have not now long to wait. Give my love to my dearest Tullia and Cicero. Good-bye. Dyrrachium, Nov. 25th.

I have come to Dyrrachium, because it is not only 7
a free state, but devoted to me, and is also the nearest point to Italy. But if the place is too crowded for my liking, I shall betake myself elsewhere, and send you word.

II

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE, TULLIOLAE ET CICERONI SUIS

Thessalonicae, A.U.C. 696.

1 Noli putare me ad quemquam longiores epistolas scribere, nisi si quis ad me plura scripsit, cui puto rescribi oportere. Nec enim habeo, quid scribam, nec hoc tempore quidquam difficilius facio. Ad te vero et ad nostram Tulliolam non queo sine plurimis lacrimis scribere. Vos enim video esse miserrimas, quas ego beatissimas semper esse volui, idque praestare debui et, nisi tam timidi fuissemus, praestitis-
2 sem. Pisonem nostrum merito eius amo plurimum. Eum, ut potui, per litteras cohortatus sum gratiasque egi, ut debui. In novis tribunis plebis intellego spem te habere. Id erit firmum, si Pompei voluntas erit; sed Crassum tamen metuo. A te quidem omnia fieri fortissime et amantissime video, nec miror; sed maereo casum eiusmodi, ut tantis tuis miseriis meae miseriae subleventur. Nam ad me P. Valerius, homo officiosus, scripsit, id quod ego maximo cum fletu legi, quemadmodum a Vestae ad tabulam Valeriam ducta esses. Hem, mea lux, meum desiderium, unde omnes opem petere solebant! te

[a] See note *e* on *Ep.* 1 4.

[b] Terentia seems to have taken refuge on Cicero's departure in the temple of Vesta, where her half-sister Fabia was among the Vestal Virgins.

[c] It is more probable that this was a tribunal for the administration of justice than (as some take it to be) a bank, and that Terentia was taken there to make an affidavit about her property which would be to Cicero's interest. If it was a bank, she must have gone there to borrow money, though this is inconsistent with *ducta esses*.

II

CICERO TO TERENTIA AND HIS FAMILY

Thessalonica, Oct. 5, 58 B.C.

You must never think that I write longer letters to anybody unless somebody has written to me at unusual length, and I think it my duty to answer him. For I don't know what to write, and just now there is nothing I find greater difficulty in doing. But to you and our darling Tullia I cannot write without a flood of tears. I see that both of you are utterly wretched, you, whom I have always wished to be completely happy—a happiness it was my duty to have secured, and I should have secured it, had I not been so timorous. 1

For our friend Piso[a] I have a profound affection, and it is no more than he deserves. I have done my best to urge him on by letter, and have thanked him as I was bound to do. I gather that you have hopes of the new tribunes of the plebs. On that we may rely, if we can rely on Pompey's friendliness; and yet I have my fears of Crassus. As for yourself, I see that you are acting in every respect most courageously and lovingly, nor does it surprise me; but what saddens me is the nature of a calamity in which my own miseries can only be alleviated at the cost of such miseries to you. For that most obliging of men, P. Valerius, had described in a letter to me (and I wept bitterly as I read it) how you were haled from the temple of Vesta[b] to the Valerian Office.[c] Alas, light of my life, for whom I yearn, to whom all used 2

nunc, mea Terentia, sic vexari, sic iacere in lacrimis et sordibus! idque fieri mea culpa, qui ceteros ser-
3 vavi, ut nos periremus! Quod de domo scribis, hoc est de area, ego vero tum denique mihi videbor restitutus, si illa nobis erit restituta. Verum haec non sunt in nostra manu. Illud doleo, quae impensa facienda est, in eius partem te miseram et despoliatam venire. Quod si conficitur negotium, omnia consequemur; sin eadem nos fortuna premet, etiamne reliquias tuas misera proicies? Obsecro te, mea vita, quod ad sumptum attinet, sine alios, qui possunt, si modo volunt, sustinere, et valetudinem istam infirmam, si me amas, noli vexare. Nam mihi ante oculos dies noctesque versaris. Omnes labores te excipere video: timeo, ut sustineas. Sed video in te esse omnia. Quare, ut id, quod speras et quod
4 agis, consequamur, servi valetudini. Ego, ad quos scribam, nescio, nisi ad eos, qui ad me scribunt, aut ad eos, de quibus ad me vos aliquid scribitis. Longius, quoniam ita vobis placet, non discedam; sed velim, quam saepissime litteras mittatis, praesertim, si quid est firmius, quod speremus. Valete, mea desideria, valete. A. d. III. Nonas Octobr. Thessalonica.

[a] On the day he went into exile, Cicero's house on the Palatine was burnt down, so that nothing but the site was left.

to look for help, to think that now, Terentia mine, you are thus harassed, thus laid low in tears and unseemly humiliation! And to think that it is all my fault, who have saved others to perish myself!

As to what you write about our house,[a] or rather 3
its site, I assure you that I shall never feel myself fully restored until that has been restored to me. These things however are not in our hands. What distresses me is, that whatever expenditure has to be incurred, you, in your unhappy and impoverished circumstances, should be let in for part of it. Of course, if the business of my restoration is carried through, we shall get all we want; but if we are to be dogged by the same ill-fortune as heretofore, will you, my poor wife, throw away the little that is left to you? I implore you, my darling, as far as expense is concerned, to let others, who can if they only will, bear the burden, and do not, as you love me, tax that indifferent health of yours. Day and night you are ever before my eyes. I see you taking upon yourself all our troubles, and I fear it is too much for you. But I also see that everything depends upon you; and for that reason, in order that we may succeed in what you are hoping and striving for, obey the dictates of health.

I know not to whom I should write, unless it is to 4
those who write to me, or to those about whom you and Tullia say anything in your letters to me. Since that is your wish, I am not going farther away; but I should like you to send me a letter as often as possible, especially if we have any better foundation for our hopes. Good-bye, you dear ones for whom I long, good-bye. Thessalonica, Oct. 5th.

III

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE ET TULLIOLAE ET CICERONI SUIS

Dyrrachi, A.U.C. 696.

1 Accepi ab Aristocrito tres epistulas, quas ego lacrimis prope delevi. Conficior enim maerore, mea Terentia, nec meae me miseriae magis excruciant, quam tuae vestraeque. Ego autem hoc miserior sum, quam tu, quae es miserrima, quod ipsa calamitas communis est utriusque nostrum, sed culpa mea propria est. Meum fuit officium vel legatione vitare periculum, vel diligentia et copiis resistere, vel cadere fortiter. Hoc miserius, turpius, indignius nobis nihil
2 fuit. Quare cum dolore conficior, tum etiam pudore. Pudet enim me uxori meae optimae, suavissimis liberis virtutem et diligentiam non praestitisse. Nam mihi[1] ante oculos dies noctesque versatur squalor vester et maeror et infirmitas valetudinis tuae; spes autem salutis pertenuis ostenditur. Inimici sunt multi, invidi paene omnes. Eicere nos magnum fuit, excludere facile est. Sed tamen quamdiu vos eritis in spe, non deficiam, ne omnia mea culpa cecidisse
3 videantur. Ut tuto sim, quod laboras, id mihi nunc facillimum est, quem etiam inimici volunt vivere in his tantis miseriis. Ego tamen faciam, quae prae-

[1] mi *Nobbe.*

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[a] Offered him by Caesar in 59 (*Att.* ii. 18). Cicero's refusal to accept this well-meant offer caused Caesar great offence. Cicero's acceptance of it would have altered the whole course of his political life.

[b] Or, possibly, "has failed."

III

CICERO TO TERENTIA AND HIS FAMILY

Dyrrachium, Nov. 29th, 58 B.C.

Aristocritus has handed me three letters which I 1
have almost blotted out with my tears. I am overwhelmed with grief, my dear Terentia, and I am not more tortured by my own miseries, than by yours and those of my children. But, most miserable as you are, I am more miserable than you, in that, while my own downfall itself is common to both of us, the fault is entirely my own. It was my duty either to avoid danger by accepting the *legatio*,[a] or to resist it with what devotion and resources I could, or to fall courageously. Nothing was more pitiful, more dishonourable, or more unworthy of myself than what I did.

And that is why I am overcome not only by sorrow 2
but also by shame. I am ashamed of not having given assurance of my courage and devotion to my best of wives and my sweetest of children. Night and day there flit before my eyes the mourning garb and melancholy of all of you, and your own feeble health, and slender indeed is any hope of recall that I can see. My enemies are many, almost everybody is jealous of me. To eject me was a big business, to keep me out is easy. However, as long as you have hope, I shall not falter, lest it should seem that everything has happened[b] through my fault.

As to your anxiety that I should be personally safe, 3
that presents no difficulty at all to me just now, when even my enemies wish me to go on living in this hopeless misery. I shall act, however, according

cipis. Amicis, quibus voluisti, egi gratias, et eas litteras Dexippo dedi, meque de eorum officio scripsi a te certiorem esse factum. Pisonem nostrum mirifico esse studio in nos et officio, et ego perspicio et omnes praedicant. Di faxint, ut tali genero mihi praesenti tecum simul et cum liberis nostris frui liceat! Nunc spes reliqua est in novis tribunis plebis et in primis quidem diebus; nam si inveterarit, actum
4 est. Ea re ad te statim Aristocritum misi, ut ad me continuo initia rerum et rationem totius negoti posses scribere; etsi Dexippo quoque ita imperavi, statim ut recurreret; et ad fratrem misi, ut crebro tabellarios mitteret. Nam ego eo nomine sum Dyrrhachi hoc tempore, ut quam celerrime, quid agatur, audiam, et sum tuto; civitas enim haec semper a me defensa est. Cum inimici nostri venire dicentur, tum in
5 Epirum ibo. Quod scribis, te, si velim, ad me venturam, ego vero, cum sciam magnam partem istius oneris abs te sustineri, te istic esse volo. Si perficitis, quod agitis, me ad vos venire oportet; sin autem—: sed nihil opus est reliqua scribere. Ex primis aut summum secundis litteris tuis constituere poterimus,

to your advice. I have thanked those friends whom you desired me to thank and I have put the letters in Dexippus's hands; and I have told him that it was you who informed me of their kindness. That our friend Piso has proved himself amazingly zealous and obliging on our behalf is very evident to me, and, besides, everybody is telling me about it. God grant that I may be privileged, together with you and our children, personally to enjoy the society of such a son-in-law! For the time, the only hope left us is in the new tribunes of the plebs and indeed in the first days of their office; if once the matter gets stale, it is the end of all things.

My reason for sending Aristocritus to you im- 4
mediately was to enable you to write and tell me forthwith the first formal steps taken and the general outline of the whole business; though I gave instructions to Dexippus also to hurry back immediately, and I sent a message to my brother to despatch letter-carriers at frequent intervals. For the excuse I make for being at Dyrrachium just now is, that I may hear with the least possible delay how matters are going on, and I am in no personal danger, since this is a community I have always defended. It will be time enough to go to Epirus when the approach of my enemies is reported.

As to your suggestion that, if I wish it, you will 5
join me here, I assure you that, knowing the great proportion of this burden you are bearing on your own shoulders, my wish is that you should stay where you are. If you all succeed in your aims, it is for me to come to you; but if you do not—well, there is no need to write the rest. Your first, or at least your second letter will give me a clue, and enable me to

quid nobis faciendum sit. Tu modo ad me velim omnia diligentissime perscribas ; etsi magis iam rem, quam litteras debeo exspectare. Cura, ut valeas et ita tibi persuadeas, mihi te carius nihil esse, nec umquam fuisse. Vale, mea Terentia, quam ego videre videor, itaque debilitor lacrimis. Vale. Pridie Kalendas Decembr.

IV

TULLIUS S. P. D. TERENTIAE ET TULLIOLAE ET CICERONI SUIS

Brundisi, A.U.C. 696.

1 Ego minus saepe ad vos do litteras, quam possum, propterea quod cum omnia mihi tempora sunt misera, tum vero, cum aut scribo ad vos aut vestras lego, conficior lacrimis, sic ut ferre non possim. Quod utinam minus vitae cupidi fuissemus ! certe nihil, aut non multum in vita mali vidissemus. Quod si nos ad aliquam alicuius commodi aliquando recuperandi spem fortuna reservavit, minus est erratum a nobis ; sin haec mala fixa sunt, ego vero te quam primum, mea vita, cupio videre et in tuo complexu emori, quando neque di, quos tu castissime coluisti, neque homines, quibus ego semper servivi, nobis gratiam
2 rettulerunt. Nos Brundisi apud M. Laenium Flaccum dies XIII fuimus, virum optimum, qui periculum fortunarum et capitis sui prae mea salute neglexit,

[a] It was to this M. Laenius Flaccus that Cicero, when governor of Cilicia, refused the post of *praefectus* on the ground that he was a banker. Tyrrell thinks that it was another man of the same name, but it is highly improbable

decide what I must do. All I should like you to do is to write me a full and particular account of all that happens ; though indeed I ought now to be awaiting some definite action rather than a letter. Mind you keep well and assure yourself that nothing is, or ever has been, dearer to me than are you. Good-bye Terentia mine ! I seem to see your very face, and so I break down and weep. Good-bye ! Nov. 29th.

IV

CICERO TO TERENTIA AND HIS FAMILY

Brundisium, April 29th, 58 B.C.

Yes, I do send you a letter less often than I might, 1
because, while every hour of my life is a misery to me, yet, when I either write to you, or read a letter from any of you, I am so overcome with weeping that I cannot bear it. Would that I had been less eager to live ! At any rate I should have seen no sorrow, or not much of it, in my life. But if fortune has in reserve for me any hope at all of getting back any benefit at any time, the mistake I made is not so serious ; if, however, these ills can never be removed, I assure you, my dearest, that my desire is to see you as soon as possible and die in your arms, since neither the gods, whom *you* have so virtuously worshipped, nor the men, whom *I* have ever served, have shown us any gratitude.

I have been for thirteen days at Brundisium, at 2
the house of M. Laenius Flaccus,[a] an excellent man, who has shown no thought for his fortunes and civil

that there should be two men of that name in the East at the same time.

neque legis improbissimae poena deductus est, quo minus hospiti et amicitiae ius officiumque praestaret. Huic utinam aliquando gratiam referre possimus!
3 habebimus quidem semper. Brundisio profecti sumus pridie Kalendas Maias. Per Macedoniam Cyzicum petebamus. O me perditum! O afflictum! quid nunc rogem te, ut venias, mulierem aegram, et corpore et animo confectam? Non rogem? sine te igitur sim? Opinor, sic agam; si est spes nostri reditus, eam confirmes et rem adiuves; sin, ut ego metuo, transactum est, quoquo modo potes, ad me fac venias. Unum hoc scito: si te habebo, non mihi videbor plane perisse. Sed quid de Tulliola mea fiet? iam id vos videte; mihi deest consilium. Sed certe, quoquo modo se res habebit, illius misellae et matrimonio et famae serviendum est. Quid? Cicero meus quid aget? Iste vero sit in sinu semper et complexu meo. Non queo plura iam scribere; impedit maeror. Tu quid egeris, nescio; utrum aliquid teneas, an, quod metuo, plane
4 sis spoliata. Pisonem, ut scribis, spero fore semper nostrum. De familia liberata nihil est, quod te moveat. Primum, tuis ita promissum est, te facturam esse, ut quisque esset meritus. Est autem in officio adhuc Orpheus; praeterea magno opere

status as compared with my safety, and has not been deterred by the penalty of a most scandalous law from fulfilling the claims and duties of hospitality and friendship. I pray that I may some day be able to show my gratitude to him,—a gratitude I shall never cease to feel.

I set out from Brundisium on April 29th. I am mak- 3
ing for Cyzicus through Macedonia. Ruined, alas, and prostrate as I am, why should I now ask you to come here, you, an invalid lady, exhausted in body and mind? Should I not ask you? Am I then to be without you? This, I think, is what I shall plead—if there is any hope of my return, encourage it and assist the matter; but if, as I fear, it is over and done with, make every effort to come here in any way you can. This one thing I would have you know—if I have you, I shall not think that I am absolutely lost. But what will become of my dearest Tullia? It is now for you to see to that; I have no suggestion to make. But in any case, however matters turn out, we must do all we can for that poor little damsel's matrimonial settlement and reputation. Again, what will my boy Cicero do? *He* I hope may always be in my bosom and between my arms. I cannot now write more; grief stays my pen. How you have fared I know not,—whether you retain anything or have been, as I fear, utterly despoiled.

Piso will, as you write, always, I hope, be our 4
friend. As to the liberation of the slaves, there is nothing to upset you. In the first place yours have been promised that you will act as each of them severally deserves. Orpheus so far is doing his duty, nobody else in any marked degree. As regards the

nemo. Ceterorum servorum ea causa est, ut, si res a nobis abisset, liberti nostri essent, si obtinere potuissent; sin ad nos pertinerent, servirent, praeter-
5 quam oppido pauci. Sed haec minora sunt. Tu quod me hortaris, ut animo sim magno et spem habeam recuperandae salutis, id velim sit eiusmodi, ut recte sperare possimus. Nunc, miser, quando tuas iam litteras accipiam? quis ad me perferet? quas ego exspectassem Brundisi, si esset licitum per nautas, qui tempestatem praetermittere noluerunt. Quod reliquum est, sustenta te, mea Terentia, ut potes, honestissime. Viximus;[1] floruimus; non vitium nostrum, sed virtus nostra nos afflixit. Peccatum est nullum, nisi quod non una animam cum ornamentis amisimus. Sed si hoc fuit liberis nostris gratius, nos vivere, cetera, quamquam ferenda non sunt, feramus. Atque ego, qui te confirmo, ipse me
6 non possum. Clodium Philetaerum, quod valetudine oculorum impediebatur, hominem fidelem, remisi. Sallustius officio vincit omnes. Pescennius est perbenevolus nobis; quem semper spero tui fore observantem. Sicca dixerat, se mecum fore, sed Brundisio discessit. Cura, quoad potes, ut valeas; et sic existimes, me vehementius tua miseria, quam mea commoveri. Mea Terentia, fidissima atque optima uxor, et mea carissima filiola, et spes reliqua nostra, Cicero, valete. Pridie Kalendas Maias Brundisio.

[1] ut potes. Honestissime viximus *Baiter and Nobbe, and perhaps they are right.*

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[a] "Against those who might urge that the penalties of confiscation were being thus evaded." Tyrrell.

[b] Clodius, Sallustius, and Pescennius were probably freedmen of Cicero.

[c] A friend of Cicero's who had a villa at Vibro in Bruttium.

other slaves the arrangement is this: that if my estate passed out of my hands they were to be my freedmen, provided they could make good this claim[a]; but if the estate still remains in my hands, that they should continue to be my slaves, with the exception of an extremely small number. But these are minor points.

As to your exhorting me to be of good courage and 5
not to abandon the hope of recovering my civil rights, I could only wish that matters were such as to justify the hope. As it is, poor wretch, when shall I at last get a letter from you? Who will bring it me? I should have awaited one at Brundisium, had the sailors allowed it, but they did not want to miss the favourable weather. For the rest, bear up, Terentia mine, with all the dignity you can. We have lived; we have had our day. It was not our failings, but our virtues, that laid us low; I am guilty of no wrong, except that I did not forfeit my life when I forfeited my honours. But if our children preferred that I should live, let us bear all else, unbearable though it be. But there—I, who am encouraging you, cannot encourage myself.

That faithful fellow, Clodius Philetaerus,[b] I have 6
sent home, because he was incapacitated by a weakness of the eyes. Sallustius[b] takes the prize for good service. Pescennius[b] is most cordially inclined towards me, and I hope he will always be attentive to you. Sicca[c] had declared his intention of remaining with me, but he left me at Brundisium. Take as much care as possible to keep well, and always remember that your misery causes me more distress than my own. Terentia mine, the most faithful and best of wives, and my very dear little daughter and Cicero, our last remaining hope, good-bye. Brundisium, April 29th.

V

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE ET TULL. SUIS

Athenis, A.U.C. 704.

1 Si tu et Tullia, lux nostra, valetis, ego et sua-
vissimus Cicero valemus. Pridie Idus Octobres
Athenas venimus, cum sane adversis ventis usi esse-
mus tardeque et incommode navigassemus. De nave
exeuntibus nobis Acastus cum litteris praesto fuit
uno et vicesimo die, sane strenue. Accepi tuas
litteras, quibus intellexi te vereri, ne superiores mihi
redditae non essent. Omnes sunt redditae dili-
gentissimeque a te perscripta sunt omnia, idque mihi
gratissimum fuit. Neque sum admiratus hanc epi-
stulam, quam Acastus attulit, brevem fuisse. Iam
enim me ipsum exspectas, sive nos ipsos, qui quidem
quam primum ad vos venire cupimus; etsi, in quam
rempublicam veniamus, intellego. Cognovi enim ex
multorum amicorum litteris, quas attulit Acastus, ad
arma rem spectare, ut mihi, cum venero, dissimulare
non liceat, quid sentiam. Sed, quando subeunda
fortuna est, eo citius dabimus operam, ut veniamus,
2 quo facilius de tota re deliberemus. Tu velim, quod
commodo valetudinis tuae fiat, quam longissime
3 poteris, obviam nobis properes. De hereditate Pre-
ciana, quae quidem mihi magno dolori est (valde

[a] A slave of Cicero, often mentioned in his letters to Tiro and Terentia.

[b] This may have been either the Lucius Precius of Panormus, mentioned by Cicero in *Verr.* v. 62, or the Precianus mentioned in *Fam.* vii. 8. 2. It appears from *auctio* that Cicero had decided to dispose of the estate bequeathed to him by selling it. Pomponius is, of course, Atticus.

V

CICERO TO TERENTIA AND TULLIA

Athens, Oct. 16, 50 B.C.

If you and Tullia, the light of my life, are well, so 1
am I and my darling boy Cicero. We arrived at Athens on Oct. 14th, having found the winds dead against us and having had a slow and uncomfortable passage. As we were disembarking Acastus [a] was there to meet us with letters on the twenty-first day after he started—very smart work. I got a letter from you from which I gathered that you fear your previous letter had not reached me. All your letters have reached me, and you have given me a full and most painstaking account of everything, and I am extremely obliged to you. And as for this letter brought by Acastus, I am not surprised at its brevity, since you are on the look out for my, or rather, our arrival in person; and indeed we are anxious to get to you as soon as possible, though I quite understand what the public situation will be when I come. I learn from many friends' letters brought by Acastus that things look like war, so that, when I arrive, it will be impossible for me to conceal my real sentiments. Anyhow, since we must face our fate, I shall make all the more effort to hasten my arrival, so as to have a better chance of considering the whole situation.

I should like you, so far as you may without detri- 2
ment to your health, to come as far to meet me as you possibly can.

As regards the legacy left by Precius,[b] which, I 3
assure you, is a sore grief to me (for I had a great

enim illum amavi), hoc velim cures: si auctio ante meum adventum fiet, ut Pomponius aut, si is minus poterit, Camillus nostrum negotium curet. Nos cum salvi venerimus, reliqua per nos agemus; sin tu iam Roma profecta eris, tamen curabis, ut hoc ita fiat. Nos si di adiuvabunt, circiter Idus Novembres in Italia speramus fore. Vos, mea suavissima et optatissima Terentia et Tulliola, si nos amatis, curate ut valeatis. Athenis, a. d. xv. Kalendas Novembr.

VI

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE ET TULLIAE

Dyrrachi, A.U.C. 706.

Nec saepe est, cui litteras demus, nec rem habemus ullam, quam scribere velimus. Ex tuis litteris, quas proxime accepi, cognovi praedium nullum venire potuisse. Quare videatis velim, quomodo satisfiat ei, cui scitis me satisfieri velle. Quod nostra tibi gratias agit, id ego non miror te mereri, ut ea tibi merito tuo gratias agere possit. Pollicem, si adhuc non est profectus, quam primum fac extrudas. Cura, ut valeas. Idibus Quintil.

[a] Cicero's lawyer friend, for whom he had a high regard. *Cf. Fam.* v. 20. 3. Pomponius is T. Pomponius Atticus.
[b] A servant of Cicero.

affection for him), please see that this is done—if the auction takes place before my arrival, let Pomponius, or failing him, Camillus,[a] manage the business for us. As soon as I have got safe home, I shall do what remains to be done myself; but even if you have already started from Rome you will still please see that what I have indicated is done. With heaven's help, we hope to be in Italy about Nov. 13th. My dearest and sweetest Terentia, and my darling Tullia, as you love me, take care of your health. Athens, Oct. 16th.

VI

CICERO TO TERENTIA AND TULLIA

Dyrrachium, July 15th, 48 B.C.

There is not often anybody to whom I could entrust a letter, and I have nothing that I should care to write. I learn from the letter I last received from you that no estate could be sold, so please consider, both of you, how the claims of that person are to be satisfied, who, as you both know, I am anxious should be satisfied. As to our daughter's thanking you, I am not surprised that your services are such as to enable her to thank you with good reason. If Pollex[b] has not yet started, be sure you give him a push out as soon as possible. Mind you keep well. July 15th.

VII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE SUAE ET TULL.

Ad Formias, A.U.C. 705.

1 Omnes molestias et sollicitudines, quibus et te miserrimam habui, id quod mihi molestissimum est, Tulliolamque, quae nobis nostra vita dulcior est, deposui et eieci. Quid causae autem fuerit, postridie intellexi, quam a vobis discessi—χολὴν ἄκρατον noctu eieci. Statim ita sum levatus, ut mihi deus aliquis medicinam fecisse videatur. Cui quidem tu deo, quemadmodum soles, pie et caste satisfacias,
2 id est Apollini et Aesculapio. Navem spero nos valde bonam habere; in eam simulatque conscendi, haec scripsi. Deinde conscribam ad nostros familiares multas epistulas, quibus te et Tulliolam nostram diligentissime commendabo. Cohortarer vos, quo animo fortiore essetis, nisi vos fortiores cognossem, quam quemquam virum. Et tamen eiusmodi spero negotia esse, ut et vos istic commodissime sperem esse, et me aliquando cum similibus
3 nostri rempublicam defensurum. Tu primum valetudinem tuam velim cures; deinde, tibi si videbitur, villis iis utere, quae longissime aberunt a militibus. Fundo Arpinati bene poteris uti cum familia urbana, si annona carior fuerit. Cicero bellissimus tibi

[a] The words *id . . . Aesculapio* read like, and probably are, a gloss on the text.
[b] Provisions would be cheaper in Arpinum than in Rome.

VII

CICERO TO TERENTIA AND TULLIA

Off Formiae, June 11th, 49 B.C.

All the troubles and anxieties, with which I kept 1
both you in a state of utter misery (which troubles me more than anything) and dear Tullia too, who is sweeter to us both than our very lives—all those, I say, I have put away and got rid of. What the reason was I discovered the day after I left you; it was *undiluted bile*; I got rid of it all that night. My immediate relief was such that I fancied some god or other had doctored me, and to that god I beg you to pay due tribute with piety and purity as you always do—I mean to Apollo and Aesculapius.[a]

I am confident that we have a right good ship; I 2
wrote this as soon as I had got on board. Later on I shall write a number of letters to our friends, and commend *you* and our darling Tullia to their care with all the warmth in the world. I should exhort you both to show a more courageous spirit, had I not discovered that you have more courage than any *man* of us all. Yet, after all, I trust that affairs are such that I may hope not only that you two will be extremely comfortable where you are, but also that one day I shall have men like myself at my side to defend the Republic.

As for yourself, I would have you, first of all, take 3
care of your health; in the next place, if it so please you, you will make use of those villas which will be farthest away from men-in-arms. You can conveniently occupy the farm at Arpinum with our town staff of servants, if the price of provisions has risen.[b]

salutem plurimam dicit. Etiam atque etiam vale. D. III. Idus Iun.

VIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Si vales, bene est; ego valeo. Valetudinem tuam velim cures diligentissime. Nam mihi et scriptum et nuntiatum est, te in febrim subito incidisse. Quod celeriter me fecisti de Caesaris litteris certiorem, fecisti mihi gratum. Item posthac, si quid opus erit, si quid acciderit novi, facies ut sciam. Cura, ut valeas. Vale. D. IV. Nonas Iun.

IX

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 706.

Ad ceteras meas miserias accessit dolor e Dolabellae valetudine et Tulliae. Omnino de omnibus rebus, nec quid consili capiam, nec quid faciam, scio. Tu velim tuam et Tulliae valetudinem cures. Vale.

[a] Born in 65, Cicero's son, Marcus, was now 16 years of age.

Cicero, fine lad that he is,[a] sends you his very best love. Again and again, good-bye. June 11th.

VIII

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, June 2nd, 47 B.C.

If you are in good health, all is well; so am I. I would have you pay most particular attention to your health; for I have been told both by letter and word of mouth that you have had a sudden attack of fever. You did me a kindness in informing me so quickly of Caesar's letter. From now on also, if there be any need, if anything new has occurred, you will please see that I am apprised of it. Take care to keep well. Good-bye. June 2nd.

IX

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, probably Dec. 17th, 48 B.C.

To all my other woes must now be added the sorrow caused me by the ill-health of Dolabella and Tullia. Looking all round at everything, I don't know in the world what steps to take, or what to do. Please take care of your own and Tullia's health. Good-bye.

X

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE SUAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Quid fieri placeret, scripsi ad Pomponium serius, quam oportuit. Cum eo si locuta eris, intelleges, quid fieri velim. Apertius scribi, quando ad illum scripseram, necesse non fuit. De ea re et de ceteris rebus quam primum velim nobis litteras mittas. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. Septimo Idus Quintil.

XI

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE SUAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Si vales, bene est: ego valeo. Tullia nostra venit ad me pridie Idus Iunias; cuius summa virtute et singulari humanitate graviore etiam sum dolore affectus, nostra factum esse neglegentia, ut longe alia in fortuna esset atque eius pietas ac dignitas postulabat. Nobis erat in animo, Ciceronem ad Caesarem mittere, et cum eo Cn. Sallustium. Si profectus erit, faciam te certiorem. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. XVII. Kalendas Quintil.

[a] Otherwise unknown.

X

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, July 9th, 47 B.C.

I wrote to tell Pomponius what my wishes were later than I should have done. When you have a talk with him, you will understand what I should like to be done. Since I have already written to him, there is no necessity to write here more openly. I should like you to send me a letter as soon as possible about that and everything else. Take particular care of your health. Good-bye. July 9th.

XI

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, June 14th, 47 B.C.

If you are well, all is right; I am well. Our daughter Tullia joined me on June 12th. Her consummate excellence and exceptional kindliness have aggravated my regret that my own carelessness is to blame for her being in very different circumstances from what her filial affection and her position demanded. It is my intention to send Cicero to Caesar, and Cn. Sallustius [a] with him. If he sets out I shall inform you. Take particular care of your health. Good-bye. June 14th.

XII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 706.

Quod nos in Italiam salvos venisse gaudes, perpetuo gaudeas velim. Sed, perturbati dolore animi magnisque iniuriis, metuo ne id consili ceperimus, quod non facile explicare possimus. Quare, quantum potes, adiuva. Quid autem possis, mihi in mentem non venit. In viam quod te des hoc tempore, nihil est; et longum est iter, et non tutum; et non video, quid prodesse possis, si veneris. Vale. D. prid. Nonas Novemb. Brundisio.

XIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Quod scripsi ad te proximis litteris de nuntio remittendo, quae sit istius vis hoc tempore, et quae concitatio multitudinis, ignoro. Si metuendus iratus est, quies tamen[1] ab illo fortasse nascetur. Totum

[1] quiesces: tamen *MD, followed by Tyrrell. I have retained Nobbe's reading, as being a better order of words, and supplying* nascetur *with a subject.*

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[a] To Tullia's husband, Dolabella; *nuntium remittere*, "to send back a message" was the regular phrase for a notice of divorce; the technical form of the message was *tuas res tibi habeto*, "keep what belongs to you," *i.e.*, "act independently of me."

XII

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, Nov. 4th, 48 B.C.

You are glad that I have arrived safe in Italy; I could wish that you may never cease to be so. But agitated as I was by anguish of mind and the cruel wrongs I had suffered, I fear I adopted a policy from which I cannot easily extricate myself. You must give me all the assistance you can. But what you can do I have no idea. That you should take to the road at this particular time is sheer nonsense. The journey is not only long, but unsafe; and I fail to see of what good you can be if you do come. Goodbye. Brundisium, Nov. 4th.

XIII

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, July 10th, 47 B.C.

I wrote to you in my last about sending a notice of divorce[a]; well, I don't quite know what force he has behind him at the moment, and what means of rousing the populace.[b] Even if he is to be feared in his anger, he will after all perhaps take the initiative in a peaceful settlement. You will, I am sure, take a

[b] At the head of an angry mob, Dolabella would have every opportunity of wreaking his vengeance on Tullia. Dolabella was now openly favouring Caesar, and indeed acting under his orders.

iudicabis, quale sit; et quod in miserrimis rebus minime miserum putabis, id facies. Vale. vi. Idus Quintil.

XIV

TULLIUS TERENTIAE ET PATER TULLIOLAE DUABUS ANIMIS SUIS ET CICERO MATRI OPTIMAE SUAVISS. SORORI S. P. D.

Minturnis, A.U.C. 705.

1 Si vos valetis, nos valemus. Vestrum iam consilium est, non solum meum, quid sit vobis faciendum. Si ille Romam modeste venturus est, recte in praesentia domi esse potestis; sin homo amens diripiendam Urbem daturus est, vereor, ut Dolabella ipse satis nobis prodesse possit. Etiam illud metuo, ne iam intercludamur, ut, cum velitis exire, non liceat. Reliquum est, quod ipsae optime considerabitis, vestri similes feminae sintne Romae. Si enim non sunt, videndum est, ut honeste vos esse possitis. Quomodo quidem nunc se res habet, modo ut haec nobis loca tenere liceat, bellissime vel mecum, vel in nostris praediis, esse poteritis. Etiam illud verendum est,
2 ne brevi tempore fames in Urbe sit. His de rebus velim cum Pomponio, cum Camillo, cum quibus vobis videbitur, consideretis; ad summam, animo forti

comprehensive view of the whole matter, and you will do what you think to be least distressing in these most distressing circumstances. Good-bye. July 10th.

XIV

CICERO TO TERENTIA AND TULLIA

Minturnae, June 23rd, 49 B.C.

Tullius sends his best love to Terentia and her father to Tullia, the two darlings of his heart, as does Cicero to his best of mothers and sweetest of sisters.

If you two are well, so are we. It lies with you 1
now, and not with me alone, to consider what we should do. If Caesar is going to enter Rome in an orderly manner, you can quite well remain at home for the present; but if in his frenzy the man is going to give up the city to plunder, I fear that even Dolabella may not be able to help us enough. I am afraid also that we may be presently cut off from you, so that when you wish to leave the city, you may not be allowed to do so. There remains the question, which nobody can discuss better than yourselves, whether ladies like you are staying in Rome. For if they are not, we must consider whether *you* can do so with any propriety. As matters now stand, provided I am allowed to retain those places of mine, you can quite nicely stay either with me, or on one of our estates. Another reason for apprehension is, that before long there may be a famine in the city.

I should like you both to consider these matters 2
with Pomponius, with Camillus, with whomever you think best; above all be of good courage. Labienus

sitis. Labienus rem meliorem fecit. Adiuvat etiam Piso, quod ab Urbe discedit et sceleris condemnat generum suum. Vos, meae carissimae animae, quam saepissime ad me scribite, et vos quid agatis, et quid istic agatur. Quintus pater et filius et Rufus vobis salutem dicunt. Valete. VIII. Kalend. Quintil. Minturnis.

XV

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE SUAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Si vales, bene est. Constitueramus, ut ad te antea scripseram, obviam Ciceronem Caesari mittere; sed mutavimus consilium, quia de illius adventu nihil audiebamus. De ceteris rebus, etsi nihil erat novi, tamen, quid velimus et quid hoc tempore putemus opus esse, ex Sicca poteris cognoscere. Tulliam adhuc mecum teneo. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. XII. Kalendas Quintil.

XVI

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE SUAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Si vales, bene est; valeo. Etsi eiusmodi tempora nostra sunt, ut nihil habeam, quod aut a te litterarum

[a] By joining the Pompeians, Labienus, Caesar's lieutenant in Gaul, and subsequently governor of Gallia Togata (Southern Cisalpine Gaul), had now deserted to Pompey. He fought against Caesar at Pharsalia, in Africa, and at Munda, where he was killed.

[b] L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, father of Caesar's wife Calpurnia. See note *d* on *Ep.* I. 3.

has improved the position.[a] Piso[b] too is helping us by quitting the city and condemning his own son-in-law of criminal conduct. You, the darlings of my soul, must write to me as often as possible, and tell me how you are and what is going on at Rome. Quintus and his son and Rufus[c] send you their regards. Good-bye. Minturnae, June 23rd.

XV

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, June 19th, 47 B.C.

If you are well, all is right. I had determined, as I wrote to you before, to send Cicero to meet Caesar, but I have changed my intention, because I could hear nothing about the latter's arrival. About everything else, although there is nothing new, you will yet be able to learn from Sicca what my wishes are and what I think must be done at this juncture. I am still keeping Tullia with me. Take particular care of your health. Good-bye. June 19th.

XVI

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, Jan. 4th, 47 B.C.

If you are well, all is right; I am well. Although I am so circumstanced as to have nothing to look forward to in the way of a letter from you, or to

[c] Mescinius Rufus, who had been Cicero's quaestor in Cilicia. (See V. 19-21.)

exspectem aut ipse ad te scribam, tamen nescio quomodo et ipse vestras litteras exspecto, et scribo ad vos, cum habeo, qui ferat. Volumnia debuit in te officiosior esse, quam fuit, et id ipsum, quod fecit, potuit diligentius facere et cautius. Quamquam alia sunt, quae magis curemus magisque doleamus, quae me ita conficiunt, ut ii voluerunt, qui me de mea sententia detruserunt. Cura, ut valeas. Pridie Nonas Ianuar.

XVII

M. T. C. S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE

Brundisi, A.U C. 706.

S.v.b.e.v. Si quid haberem, quod ad te scriberem, facerem id et pluribus verbis et saepius. Nunc quae sint negotia, vides. Ego autem quomodo sim affectus, ex Lepta et Trebatio poteris cognoscere. Tu fac, ut tuam et Tulliae valetudinem cures. Vale.

XVIII

TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE ET PATER SUAVISS. FILIAE TULLIOLAE, CICERO MATRI ET SORORI S. P. D.

Formiis, A.U.C. 705.

1 Considerandum vobis etiam atque etiam, animae meae, diligenter puto, quid faciatis—Romaene sitis,

[a] Who this lady was is unknown. She may have been the sister or daughter of P. Volumnius Eutrapelus (vii. 32).

[b] They had come to see Cicero at Brundisium and then left for Rome. Q. Lepta was Cicero's *praefectus fabrum*, "engineer-in-chief," in Cilicia. Trebatius was Cicero's familiar friend, the young jurisconsult, so often mentioned in his letters. *Cf.* vii. 6-22.

write to you myself, yet somehow or other I do both look forward to getting letters from you myself, and I write to you whenever I find anybody to take you a letter. Volumnia[a] ought to have been more obliging to you than she was, and to have done the little she did with more tact and caution. And yet there are other things to cause me greater anxiety and greater grief—things that distress me as much as those persons desired who forced me to abandon my original conviction. Take care to keep well. Jan. 4th.

XVII

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, Dec. 15th, 48 B.C.

If you are well, all is right; I am well. Had I anything to write to you, I should do so, both at greater length and more frequently. The present state of affairs you can see for yourself; how they affect me, you can learn from Lepta and Trebatius.[b] Be sure you take care of your own and Tullia's health. Good-bye.

XVIII

CICERO TO TERENTIA AND TULLIA

Formiae, Jan. 22nd, 49 B.C.

Tullius sends his best love to his wife Terentia, and her father to his sweetest of daughters, his darling Tullia, as does Cicero to his mother and sister.

I think you ought carefully to consider again and again, my dearest ones, what you should do—whether 1

an mecum in aliquo tuto loco. Id non solum meum consilium est, sed etiam vestrum. Mihi veniunt in mentem haec: Romae vos esse tuto posse per Dolabellam, eamque rem posse nobis adiumento esse, si quae vis, aut si quae rapinae fieri coeperint. Sed rursus illud me movet, quod video, omnes bonos abesse Roma, et eos mulieres suas secum habere. Haec autem regio, in qua ego sum, nostrorum est cum oppidorum, tum etiam praediorum; ut et multum esse mecum, et, cum abieritis, commode et
2 in nostris esse possitis. Mihi plane non satis constat adhuc, utrum sit melius. Vos videte, quid aliae faciant isto loco feminae, et ne, cum velitis, exire non liceat; id velim diligenter etiam atque etiam vobiscum et cum amicis consideretis. Domus ut propugnacula et praesidium habeat, Philotimo dicetis. Et velim tabellarios instituatis certos, ut quotidie aliquas a vobis litteras accipiam. Maxime autem date operam, ut valeatis, si nos vultis valere. IX. Kal. Febr. Formiis.

XIX

M. T. C. S. D. TERENTIAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 706.

In maximis meis doloribus excruciat me valetudo Tulliae nostrae. De qua nihil est, quod ad te plura

[a] By Caesar's orders. Dolabella was on Caesar's side, but would be able to help Terentia and Tullia.

[b] A freedman of Cicero's, not Terentia's dishonest steward.

to stay in Rome or in some place of safety with me. That is not a question for me alone, but also for you. What suggests itself to me is this—that, thanks to Dolabella, you can safely stay in Rome, and that his kindness might be of assistance to us if violence or lootings begin.[a] On the other hand I am impressed by the evidence I have that all loyalists have left Rome, and have their ladies with them. Now the district in which I am consists not only of towns devoted to me, but also of estates belonging to me, so that you could be constantly with me, and, if you went away, could be housed comfortably, and on our own property. I have not myself quite definitely 2
decided which is the better course. Please observe what other ladies of your standing are doing, and beware lest when you want to get out of Rome, you are not allowed to do so. I would have you seriously consider this again and again among yourselves and with your friends. Please tell Philotimus[b] to get the house barricaded and guarded. I would also have you establish a regular succession of letter-carriers, so that I may get some sort of a letter from you every day. But the main point is to do all you can to keep well, if you wish me to do so. Formiae, Jan. 22nd.

XIX

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, Nov. 27th, 48 B.C.

Amid all my other overwhelming sorrows, I am kept on the rack by our dear Tullia's ill-health; but there is no reason why I should write to you further

scribam; tibi enim aeque magnae curae esse certo scio. Quod me propius vultis accedere, video ita esse faciendum. Etiam ante fecissem; sed me multa impediverunt, quae ne nunc quidem expedita sunt. Sed a Pomponio exspecto litteras, quas ad me quam primum perferendas cures velim. Da operam, ut valeas.

XX

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE SUAE

Venusiae, A.U.C. 707.

In Tusculanum nos venturos putamus aut Nonis aut postridie. Ibi ut sint omnia parata. Plures enim fortasse nobiscum erunt, et, ut arbitror, diutius ibi commorabimur. Labrum si in balineo non est, ut sit. Item cetera, quae sunt ad victum et ad valetudinem necessaria. Vale. Kal. Octobr. de Venusino.

XXI

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE SUAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Si vales, bene est; valeo. Da operam, ut convalescas. Quod opus erit, ut res tempusque postulat, provideas atque administres, et ad me de omnibus rebus quam saepissime litteras mittas. Vale.

[a] This is Cicero's last letter to Terentia, whom he divorced shortly afterwards. Curt, casual, and inconsiderate in its vagueness, it is enough to madden any self-respecting housewife and hostess. As Long remarks, "A gentleman would write a more civil letter to his housekeeper."

[b] The *labrum* (λουτήρ) was a large round basin raised about three feet from the ground, in which the bathers washed themselves before they immersed themselves in the *piscina*.

about it, for I am quite sure that your own anxiety is just as great. You both want me to get nearer to you, and I see that I must do so. I should have done so even before; but I was hindered by many difficulties, which are even now unsolved. But I am waiting for a letter from Pomponius, which please take care is delivered to me as soon as possible. Do your best to keep well.

XX

CICERO TO TERENTIA [a]

Venusia, Oct. 1st, 47 B.C.

I think I shall arrive at my Tusculan villa either on the 7th inst. or on the day after. See that everything is ready there; for perhaps I shall have several others with me, and I expect we shall stay there for some considerable time. If there is no basin [b] in the bath, see that there is one, and so with everything else necessary for everyday life and health. Good-bye. The district of Venusia, Oct. 1st.

XXI

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, June, 47 B.C.

If you are well, all is right; I am well. Make every effort to recover your health. Provide for and take charge of any necessary business, as time and circumstances demand, and send me letters about everything as often as possible. Good-bye.

XXII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE SUAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Si vales, bene est; valeo. Nos quotidie tabellarios nostros exspectamus; qui si venerint, fortasse erimus certiores, quid nobis faciendum sit, faciemusque te statim certiorem. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. Kalendis Septemb.

XXIII

M. T. C. TERENTIAE SUAE S. P. D.

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Si vales, bene est; valeo. Redditae mihi tandem sunt a Caesare litterae satis liberales, et ipse opinione celerius venturus esse dicitur. Cui utrum obviam procedam, an hic eum exspectem, cum constituero, faciam te certiorem. Tabellarios mihi velim quam primum remittas. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. D. pridie Idus Sext.

XXIV

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Si vales, bene est; valeo. Nos neque de Caesaris adventu, neque de litteris, quas Philotimus habere dicitur, quidquam adhuc certi habemus. Si quid erit certi, faciam te statim certiorem. Valetudinem tuam fac ut cures. Vale. III. Idus Sextiles.

[a] See note *b* to *Ep.* 18 above.

XXII

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, Sept. 1st, 47 B.C.

If you are well all is right; I am well. I am expecting letter-carriers every day, and if they arrive perhaps I shall get to know what I ought to do, and I shall let you know at once. Take particular care of your health. Good-bye. Sept. 1st.

XXIII

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, Aug. 12th, 47 B.C.

If you are well, all is right; I am well. A letter has at last been handed me from Caesar, quite handsomely worded; and it is said that he will arrive in person more quickly than was expected. When I have made up my mind whether to go out and meet him, or wait for him here, I shall let you know. I should like you to send back my letter-carriers as soon as possible. Take particular care of your health. Good-bye. Aug. 12th.

XXIV

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, Aug. 11th, 47 B.C.

If you are well, all is right; I am well. I have no certain information as yet either about Caesar's arrival or about the letter which Philotimus[a] is said to have in his hands. If I have such information, I shall let you know at once. Be sure you take care of your health. Good-bye. Aug. 11th.

BOOK XV

NOTE ON CICERO'S GOVERNORSHIP OF CILICIA

Cicero left Rome for Cilicia in 51 B.C. as reluctantly as Macaulay left London for India in 1834. Both were profoundly devoted to their respective mother-cities, and loved city life ; both dreaded the friendless solitude of what they regarded as banishment in a distant land ; and both apprehended a fatal break in the continuity of their political careers at home.

Cicero arrived in Laodicea at the end of July, having with him as his *legati* [a] his brother Quintus, C. Pomptinus, M. Anneius, and L. Tullius. His province, besides Cilicia proper, included Pisidia, Pamphylia, Cyprus, Isauria, Lycaonia, and three departments (διοικήσεις) north of Taurus, the chief towns of which were Cibyra, Synnada, and Apamea.

As a civil administrator he appears to have had every desire to improve the conditions of the provincials and undo the harm wrought by his predecessor, the "tigerish" Appius Claudius Pulcher; but his good intentions were too often neutralized

[a] A governor's *legati*, selected by himself, but with the approval of the Senate, performed any service he thought fit to assign them, whether civil or military.

by his eagerness to support at all costs the *publicani*, who were mainly drawn from the Order to which he himself belonged, and which he consistently championed—the Order of Knights (*equester ordo*), and also by his anxiety to meet the views of his influential friends at home; with the result that, on the civil side, his administration was no more than moderately successful, and he left the province little better than he found it.

In his military capacity, on the other hand, he showed surprising ability and resolution. Shortly after his arrival his province was threatened by an invasion of the Parthians; but so well did his forces acquit themselves, especially on Mt. Amanus and at Pindenissus—operations described by himself in simple and lucid language—that, had he not been forestalled by Cassius, who brilliantly repulsed the Parthians at Antioch (an achievement he somewhat ill-naturedly minimizes), he might have claimed the credit of having avenged the death of Crassus at Carrhae in 53.

Moreover, all through this critical period, with little or no support from Rome, though he repeatedly appealed for it, Cicero checked all revolt in his province, and kept the feudatory and allied potentates quiet and well-disposed.

In view of these laudable achievements there is little doubt that his application for a triumph would have been granted, had it not been opposed by no less a man than M. Porcius Cato, who gives his reasons for doing so in an elaborate and highly complimentary letter (*Ep.* 5), which is, however, not without a touch of sarcasm, and Cicero's reply is a model of courtesy and self-restraint under considerable provocation.

Cato, however, did not oppose, though he refrained from voting for, a *supplicatio* to Cicero; on the other hand, he secured a *supplicatio* of greater length (20 days) for his own incapable and worthless son-in-law, M. Calpurnius Bibulus, Governor of Syria, who (according to Cicero) "never stirred out of the well-fortified and well-provisioned town of Antioch during the whole time the Parthians were in his province." It was this, as Dr. Strachan Davidson remarks, even more than his failure to obtain a triumph, that roused Cicero's resentment and indignation.

M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM AD FAMILIARES

LIBER DECIMUS QUINTUS

I

M. TULLIUS CICERO, PROCOS. S. P. D. COSS. PRAETT. TRIBB. PL. SENATUI

In Cilicia, A.U.C. 708.

1 S.v.v.b.e.e.e.q.v. Etsi mihi non dubie nuntiabatur Parthos transisse Euphraten cum omnibus fere suis copiis, tamen, quod arbitrabar a M. Bibulo proconsule certiora de his rebus ad vos scribi posse, statuebam mihi non necesse esse publice scribere ea quae de alterius provincia nuntiarentur. Postea vero quam certissimis auctoribus, legatis, nuntiis, litteris sum certior factus, vel quod tanta res erat, vel quod nondum audieramus Bibulum in Syriam venisse, vel quia administratio huius belli mihi cum Bibulo paene est communis, quae ad me delata essent
2 scribenda ad vos putavi. Regis Antiochi Commageni

[a] Cicero was now proconsul of Cilicia, and Bibulus of Syria.
[b] The most north-easterly district of Syria.

CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

BOOK XV

I

M. TULLIUS CICERO, THE PROCONSUL,[a] SENDS GREETINGS TO THE CONSULS, PRAETORS, TRIBUNES OF THE PLEBS AND SENATE

Near Cybistra in Cilicia, 51 B.C.

If you are well, all is right; I and the army are well. 1
Although I kept receiving no uncertain intelligence that the Parthians had crossed the Euphrates with practically all their forces, still, because I believed that more definite despatches on these matters could be sent to you by the proconsul Bibulus, I decided that it was not necessary for me to insert in a public despatch what was reported about the province of another. When, however, I was informed on the most trustworthy authority, by envoys, messengers, and letters—whether because of the importance of the matter, or because I had not yet heard of Bibulus' arrival in Syria, or owing to the fact that the conduct of this war was almost as much in my hands as in those of Bibulus—for anyone of these reasons I considered it my duty to send you a despatch on what had reached my ears.

The envoys of King Antiochus of Commagene[b] 2

legati primi mihi nuntiarunt, Parthorum magnas copias Euphraten transire coepisse. Quo nuntio allato, cum essent nonnulli, qui ei regi minorem fidem habendam putarent, statui exspectandum esse, si quid certius afferretur. A. d. XIII. Kalendas Octobr. cum exercitum in Ciliciam ducerem, in finibus Lycaoniae et Cappadociae mihi litterae redditae sunt a Tarcondimoto, qui fidelissimus socius trans Taurum amicissimusque populi Romani existimatur; Pacorum, Orodi, regis Parthorum, filium, cum permagno equitatu Parthico transisse Euphraten, et castra posuisse Tybae, magnumque tumultum esse in provincia Syria excitatum. Eodem die ab Iamblicho, phylarcho Arabum, quem homines opinantur bene sentire amicumque esse reipublicae nostrae, litterae de eisdem
3 rebus mihi redditae sunt. His rebus allatis, etsi intellegebam socios infirme animatos esse et novarum rerum exspectatione suspensos, sperabam tamen, eos, ad quos iam accesseram, quique nostram mansuetudinem integritatemque perspexerant, amiciores populo Romano esse factos; Ciliciam autem firmiorem fore, si aequitatis nostrae particeps facta esset. Et ob eam causam, et ut opprimerentur ii, qui ex Cilicum gente in armis essent, et ut hostis is, qui esset in Syria, sciret exercitum populi Romani

[a] This king, established on his throne by Pompey in 64, reigned in Mount Amanus. He fought on the side of Pompey at Pharsalia, and though pardoned by Caesar in 42, fought for Cassius, and died at Actium, fighting for Antony, in 31.

[b] A doughty warrior who gave much trouble to Rome in the East; *cf.* Hor. *Od.* iii. 6. 9.

[c] Son of Sampsiceramus, with whom he shared the dynasty of Emesa and Arethusa. He was put to death by Antony just before the battle of Actium.

were the first to report to me that large forces of the Parthians had begun to cross the Euphrates. On receipt of this report, seeing that there were certain persons who did not consider that king altogether to be trusted, I came to the conclusion that I ought to wait for more definite information. On the 18th September, as I was marching my army into Cilicia, on the frontier line between Lycaonia and Cappadocia I received a despatch from Tarcondimotus,[a] who is regarded as our most loyal ally beyond Mount Taurus, and the best friend of the Roman people. He reported that Pacorus,[b] son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, had crossed the Euphrates with a very strong force of Parthian cavalry, and pitched his camp at Tyba, and that a serious uprising had been stirred up in the province of Syria. On the same day I received a despatch dealing with the same incidents from Jamblichus,[c] the leading tribesman of the Arabs, a man who is generally considered to be loyally disposed and friendly to our Republic.

On the receipt of this information, although I fully 3
understood that our allies had no firmly established opinions, and were wavering in expectation of a revolution, yet I hoped that those whom I had already approached, and who had had clear proof of my clemency and probity, had now become more friendly to the Roman people; and that Cilicia, moreover, would be confirmed in its loyalty if allowed to share the fruits of my equitable administration. For that reason, and also with the intention of crushing those of the Cilician people who had taken up arms and of convincing our enemy in Syria that the army

non modo non cedere his nuntiis allatis, sed etiam propius accedere, exercitum ad Taurum institui
4 ducere. Sed, si quid apud vos auctoritas mea ponderis habet, in iis praesertim rebus, quas vos audistis, ego paene cerno, magno opere vos et hortor et moneo, ut his provinciis serius vos quidem, quam decuit, sed aliquando tamen consulatis. Nos quemadmodum instructos et quibus praesidiis munitos ad tanti belli opinionem miseritis, non estis ignari; quod ego negotium non stultitia obcaecatus, sed verecundia deterritus, non recusavi. Neque enim umquam ullum periculum tantum putavi, quod subterfugere mallem,
5 quam vestrae auctoritati obtemperare. Hoc autem tempore res sese sic habet, ut, nisi exercitum tantum, quantum ad maximum bellum mittere soletis, mature in has provincias miseritis, summum periculum sit, ne amittendae sint omnes hae provinciae, quibus vectigalia populi Romani continentur. Quamobrem autem in hoc provinciali delectu spem habeatis aliquam, causa nulla est. Neque multi sunt, et diffugiunt, qui sunt, metu oblato; et, quod genus hoc militum sit, iudicavit vir fortissimus M. Bibulus in Asia, qui, quum vos ei permisissetis delectum habere, noluerit. Nam sociorum auxilia propter acerbitatem atque iniurias imperi nostri aut ita imbecilla sunt, ut non multum nos iuvare possint, aut ita alienata a

of the Roman people, so far from giving way on receiving this intelligence, was actually drawing nearer, I determined to march my army up to Mount Taurus.

But if my authority carries any weight with you 4
(especially in those matters which you know by hearsay only, whereas I have almost ocular demonstration of them), I strongly urge and advise you to take precautions for the safety of these provinces, rather later, it is true, than you should have done, but at all events before it is too late. You are well aware how poorly equipped, and how inadequately safeguarded I was when you despatched me to deal with a war that was expected to be on so great a scale; that responsibility I accepted, not because I was blindly infatuated, but because a sense of honour made me shrink from declining it. For never have I considered any danger so formidable as to desire to shirk it rather than defer to your authority.

At this juncture, however, the situation is such that, 5
unless you speedily despatch to these provinces as powerful an army as it is your practice to despatch to deal with a war of the first importance, there is every danger of our being forced to give up these provinces upon which the revenues of the Roman people depend. But you have no justification at all for basing any hopes upon a levy in this province; there are not many men, and such men as there are scatter at the first approach of danger; and in Asia that very gallant officer, M. Bibulus, has indicated his opinion of this type of soldier by declining to hold a levy when you gave him permission to do so. In fact, owing to the harshness and injustice of Roman rule, the auxiliaries among our allies are either so feeble that they cannot give us much assistance, or else so estranged

nobis, ut neque exspectandum ab iis neque com-
6 mittendum iis quidquam esse videatur. Regis Deiotari et voluntatem et copias, quantaecumque sunt, nostras esse duco. Cappadocia est inanis. Reliqui reges tyrannique neque opibus satis firmi, nec voluntate sunt. Mihi in hac paucitate militum animus certe non deerit; spero, ne consilium quidem. Quid casurum sit, incertum est. Utinam saluti nostrae consulere possimus! Dignitati certe consulemus.

II

M. TULLIUS M. F. CICERO PROCOS. S. P. D. COSS. PRAETT. TRIBB. PL. SENAT.

Ad Cybistra, A.U.C. 703.

1 S.v.v.b.e.e.e.q.v. Cum pridie Kalend. Sext. in provinciam venissem, neque maturius propter itinerum et navigationum difficultatem venire potuissem, maxime convenire officio meo, reique publicae conducere putavi, parare ea, quae ad exercitum, quaeque ad rem militarem pertinerent. Quae cum essent a me cura magis et diligentia quam facultate et copia constituta, nuntiique et litterae de bello a Parthis in provinciam Syriam illato quotidie fere afferrentur, iter mihi faciendum per Lycaoniam et per Isauros et

from us that it looks as though we ought neither to expect anything of them nor to entrust anything to their keeping. As to the friendliness and the forces, 6
whatever their strength, of King Deiotarus, I regard them as being on our side. Cappadocia is an empty husk. The other kings and autocrats are not quite to be trusted in respect of either resources or friendliness. As to myself, numerically weak as are my military forces, I shall assuredly not be found wanting in courage, and I hope not in strategy either. What will happen nobody can tell. Pray heaven we may be able to take measures for our safety; for our honour we assuredly shall.

II

M. TULLIUS CICERO, THE PROCONSUL, SENDS GREETINGS TO THE CONSULS, PRAETORS, TRIBUNES OF THE PLEBS AND SENATE

Cybistra, September 21 or 22, 51 B.C.

If you are well, all is right; I and the army are 1
well. When I arrived in the province on the last day of July, having failed to arrive earlier on account of the difficulty of travelling both by land and sea, I considered it most consonant with my office and conducive to the public welfare to get ready whatever concerned the army and appertained to military affairs in general. When I had settled all that, more by careful assiduity on my part than with proper means and resources, and when I was almost daily receiving messengers and letters about the war forced upon the province of Syria by the Parthians, I thought it advisable to march my army through Lycaonia, Isauria, and

per Cappadociam arbitratus sum; erat enim magna suspicio, Parthos, si ex Syria egredi atque irrumpere in meam provinciam conarentur, iter eos per Cappadociam, quod ea maxime pateret, esse facturos.
2 Itaque cum exercitu per Cappadociae partem eam, quae cum Cilicia continens est, iter feci, castraque ad Cybistra, quod oppidum est ad montem Taurum, locavi, ut Artavasdes, rex Armenius, quocumque animo esset, sciret non procul a suis finibus exercitum populi Romani esse, et Deiotarum, fidelissimum regem atque amicissimum reipublicae nostrae, maxime coniunctum haberem, cuius et consilio et opibus adiuvari
3 posset respublica. Quo cum in loco castra haberem equitatumque in Ciliciam misissem, ut et meus adventus iis civitatibus, quae in ea parte essent, nuntiatus firmiores animos omnium faceret, et ego mature, quid ageretur in Syria, scire possem, tempus eius tridui quod in his castris morabar in magno
4 officio et necessario mihi ponendum putavi. Cum enim vestra auctoritas intercessisset, ut ego regem Ariobarzanem, Eusebem et Philorhomaeum, tuerer, eiusque regis salutem, incolumitatem, regnumque defenderem, regi regnoque praesidio essem, adiunxissetisque, salutem eius regis populo senatui-

[a] A staunch ally of Rome in the Mithridatic wars, he was rewarded with the title of king, and the addition to his dominions of Armenia Minor. He fought for Pompey at Pharsalia, and was deprived by Caesar of part of his dominions, but allowed to retain his regal title. Accused in 45 by his grandson Castor of having plotted against Caesar's life in Galatia, he was defended by Cicero in his speech *Pro Rege Deiotaro*. He died at a great age in 42.

[b] Ariobarzanes III., who sided with Pompey against Caesar, but was generously treated by the latter, and

Cappadocia, as I had strong grounds for suspecting that if the Parthians tried to issue out of Syria and burst their way into my province, they would advance through Cappadocia, as offering least resistance.

I accordingly marched with my army through that 2
part of Cappadocia which adjoins Cilicia, and pitched my camp near Cybistra, a town at the foot of Mount Taurus, so as to let Artavasdes, the king of Armenia, whatever his attitude of mind might be, know that there was an army of the people of Rome not far from his frontier, and so as to have Deiotarus,[a] a most loyal king and the best of friends to our Republic, in close contact with me, so that the Republic might have the assistance of his counsel and resources.

Having encamped at this spot, and having des- 3
patched my cavalry into Cilicia, in order that the announcement of my arrival to the communities in that district might confirm them all in their loyalty, and also that I myself might have early information as to what was going on in Syria, I thought it incumbent upon me to spend the three days of my stay in that camp in the performance of an important and necessary duty.

For since you had intervened with a resolution 4
that I should protect King Ariobarzanes,[b] entitled "Eusebes" and "Philorhomaeus," and defend that monarch's personal safety and the stability of his realm, and in short, safeguard both king and kingdom, and since you had added that the security of that king was a matter of grave anxiety to the people and

opposed the Liberators, but was put to death by Cassius. The titles of Eusebes, "the Dutiful," and Philorhomaeus, "the Lover of Rome," must have been given him by the Pompeian party.

que magnae curae esse, quod nullo umquam de rege decretum esset a nostro ordine, existimavi, me iudicium vestrum ad regem deferre debere eique praesidium meum et fidem et diligentiam polliceri, ut, cum salus ipsius, incolumitas regni mihi commen-
5 data esset a vobis, diceret, si quid vellet. Quae cum essem in consilio meo cum rege locutus, initio ille orationis suae vobis maximas, ut debuit, deinde etiam mihi gratias egit, quod ei permagnum et perhonorificum videbatur, s.p.q.r. tantae curae esse salutem suam; meque tantam diligentiam adhibere, ut et mea fides et commendationis vestrae auctoritas perspici posset. Atque ille primo, quod mihi maximae laetitiae fuit, ita mecum locutus est, ut nullas insidias neque vitae suae neque regno diceret se aut intellegere fieri, aut etiam suspicari. Cum ego ei gratulatus essem, idque me gaudere dixissem, et tamen adulescentem essem cohortatus, ut recordaretur casum illum interitus paterni, et vigilanter se tueretur, atque admonitu senatus consuleret saluti suae, tum a me discessit in oppidum Cybistra.
6 Postero autem die cum Ariarathe, fratre suo, et cum paternis amicis, maioribus natu, ad me in castra venit, perturbatusque et flens, cum idem et frater faceret

[a] Ariobarzanes II. had fallen a victim to a conspiracy shortly before Cicero arrived in the East.

Senate—a decree which had never been passed by our order in reference to any other king—I decided that I was bound to report your pronouncement to the king and promise him my protection and loyalty and devotion, in order that, inasmuch as his personal security and the stability of his kingdom had been entrusted by you to me, he might tell me if he wished to have anything done.

When I had explained all this to the king in 5
the presence of my council, at the beginning of his speech in reply he expressed his profound gratitude to you as in duty bound, and then to me also, because he thought it a very high and significant compliment that the Senate and people of Rome should be so keenly interested in his personal security, and that I too should show such assiduity as to make it impossible to doubt either my own sincerity or the weight of your authority. And, indeed, on this first occasion, his conversation with me was such as to convey the impression (and I was much pleased to hear it) that he neither knew of any plots being hatched against either his life or his kingdom, nor even suspected any. When I had congratulated him and assured him that I was glad of it, and had none the less urged him, young man as he was, not to forget the calamity of his father's assassination,[a] to be vigilant in self-defence and, according to the advice of the Senate, to take measures for his personal security, he left me and returned to the town of Cybistra.

On the following day, however, he visited me in my 6
camp in company with his brother Ariarathes and some elderly men, friends of his father. He was extremely agitated and in tears, as were also his brother and his friends, and fell to imploring the fulfilment of

et amici, meam fidem, vestram commendationem implorare coepit. Cum admirarer, quid accidisset novi, dixit ad se indicia manifestarum insidiarum esse delata, quae essent ante adventum meum occultata, quod ii, qui ea patefacere possent, propter metum reticuissent; eo autem tempore, spe mei praesidi, complures ea, quae scirent, audacter ad se detulisse; in his amantissimum sui, summa pietate praeditum, fratrem dicere ea, quae is me quoque audiente dicebat, se sollicitatum esse, ut regnare vellet; id vivo fratre suo accipere non potuisse; se tamen ante illud tempus eam rem numquam in medium, propter periculi metum, protulisse. Quae cum esset locutus, monui regem, ut omnem diligentiam ad se conservandum adhiberet; amicosque, patris eius atque avi iudicio probatos, hortatus sum, regis sui vitam, docti casu acerbissimo patris eius,
7 omni cura custodiaque defenderent. Cum rex a me equitatum cohortesque de exercitu meo postularet, etsi intellegebam, vestro senatus consulto non modo posse me id facere, sed etiam debere, tamen, cum respublica postularet, propter quotidianos ex Syria nuntios, ut quam primum exercitum ad Ciliciae fines adducerem, cumque mihi rex, patefactis iam insidiis, non egere exercitu populi Romani, sed posse se suis opibus defendere videretur, illum cohortatus

the pledge I had given, and the trust you had imposed upon me. When I wondered what new turn things had taken, he told me "that information of a plot proved beyond doubt had been brought to his ears—information which had been concealed before my arrival because those who might have disclosed it had kept silent about it through fear; but that now, hoping that I would protect them, several persons had boldly put this knowledge at his disposal, and that among them his brother, who was very fond of him and of a most affectionate disposition, told him (and the brother repeated the words in my hearing) that he had been worked upon to aim at the throne; that as long as his brother was alive he could not have entertained the suggestion; and that anyhow he had not until then given publicity to the matter because he dreaded the danger."

When he had thus spoken I advised the king to take every precaution for his own preservation, and I urged his friends, men who had won the considered approbation of his father and grandfather, to protect their king's life with all care and vigilance, warned as they had been by the very tragic fall of his father.

When the king demanded of me some cavalry and 7
cohorts out of my army, although I had no doubt that according to your decree of the Senate I not only had the power to give him them, but that it was even my duty to do so, yet, since the public interests, in view of daily messages from Syria, demanded that I should bring my army as soon as possible into the territory of Cilicia, and as it seemed to me that the king, now that the plot had been revealed, stood in no need of an army of Roman people, but could defend himself with his own resources, I urged him to learn to play

sum, ut in sua vita conservanda primum regnare disceret; a quibus perspexisset sibi insidias paratas, in eos uteretur iure regio; poena afficeret eos, quos necesse esset; reliquos metu liberaret; praesidio exercitus mei ad eorum, qui in culpa essent, timorem potius, quam ad contentionem uteretur; fore autem, ut omnes, cum senatusconsultum nossent, intellegerent, me regi, si opus esset, ex auctoritate vestra
8 praesidio futurum. Ita confirmato illo, ex eo loco castra movi, iter in Ciliciam facere institui, cum hac opinione e Cappadocia discederem, ut consilio vestro, casu incredibili ac paene divino, regem, quem vos honorificentissime appellassetis, nullo postulante, quemque meae fidei commendassetis, et cuius salutem magnae vobis curae esse decrevissetis, meus adventus praesentibus insidiis liberarit. Quod ad vos a me scribi non alienum putavi, ut intellegeretis ex iis, quae paene acciderunt, vos multo ante, ne ea acciderent, providisse; eoque vos studiosius feci certiores, quod in rege Ariobarzane ea mihi signa videor virtutis, ingeni, fidei, benevolentiaeque erga vos perspexisse, ut non sine causa tantam curam diligentiamque in eius vos salutem videamini contulisse.

the part of king by first of all ensuring the preservation of his own life; to exercise his royal rights upon those by whom he was now convinced that the plot against him had been concocted; to punish those whom it was essential to punish, and relieve the fears of the rest; to take advantage of the protection of my army to intimidate those who were to blame rather than to foster strife; assuring him at the same time that all his subjects, on ascertaining the decree of the Senate, would understand that according to your resolution I should be there, if the need arose, to protect the king.

Having encouraged him so far, I struck camp from 8
there, and began my march into Cilicia, leaving Cappadocia with this impression upon my mind, that thanks to your policy, by a wonderful and almost providential accident, a king upon whom you had spontaneously and in the most complimentary manner conferred that title, a king whom you had entrusted to my protection, a king whose personal safety you had declared by your decree to be a source of serious anxiety to yourselves, has been delivered from an imminent conspiracy by my arrival on the scene. This much I thought it not irrelevant for me to write to you, so that you might gather from what has nearly happened that you had provided long before against its happening; and I have all the more pleasure in informing you, because I believe I have discerned in King Ariobarzanes such evidence of moral worth, capacity, good faith and friendly feeling for you, as to make it seem that you have good reason for having bestowed so much care and attention upon his welfare.

III

M. T. C. S. D. M. CATONI

In castris ad Iconium, A.U.C. 703.

1 Cum ad me legati, missi ab Antiocho Commageno, venissent in castra ad Iconium a. d. III. Kal. Septembr., iique mihi nuntiassent, regis Parthorum filium, quocum esset nupta regis Armeniorum soror, ad Euphraten cum maximis Parthorum copiis multarumque praeterea gentium magna manu venisse, Euphratenque iam transire coepisse, dicique Armenium regem in Cappadociam impetum esse facturum, putavi, pro nostra necessitudine, me hoc ad te scri-
2 bere oportere. Publice propter duas causas nihil scripsi; quod et ipsum Commagenum legati dicebant ad senatum statim nuntios litterasque misisse, et existimabam, M. Bibulum proconsulem, qui circiter Idus Sextiles ab Epheso in Syriam navibus profectus erat, quod secundos ventos habuisset, iam in provinciam suam pervenisse; cuius litteris omnia certiora perlatum iri ad senatum putabam. Mihi, ut in huiusmodi re tantoque bello, maximae curae est, ut, quae copiis et opibus tenere vix possimus, ea mansuetudine et continentia nostra, sociorum fidelitate teneamus. Tu velim, ut consuesti, nos absentes diligas et defendas.

[a] Cato had returned from Cyprus in 56, and was now in Rome.

III

CICERO TO M. CATO [a]

Camp at Iconium, August 28, 51 B.C.

Ambassadors sent to me by Antiochus of Comma- 1
gene having arrived at my camp near Iconium on the 28th August, and having reported to me that the son of the king of the Parthians, whom the sister of the king of the Armenians had married, had reached the banks of the Euphrates with very large Parthian forces and a large army of many other nations besides, and that it was said that the Armenian king intended making an attack upon Cappadocia, I thought that, considering our intimate connexion, it was incumbent upon me to send you this letter.

I sent no public despatch for two reasons, because 2
the ambassadors told me that the Commagenian himself had immediately sent messengers with a despatch to the Senate, and because I thought that the proconsul, M. Bibulus, who had set out from Ephesus to Syria by sea about the 13th of August, having found the winds in his favour, had already arrived in his province, and I supposed that his despatches would convey more definite information on all points to the Senate. For myself, in view of the present situation, and the gravity of the war, my chief concern is to secure by my leniency and moderation and by the fidelity of the allies what I am scarcely strong enough to secure with the forces at my disposal. I would have you, on your part, show your regard for me and defend me, as you have always done, in my absence.

IV

M. T. C. IMP. S. D. M. CATONI

Tarsi, A.U.C. 704.

1 Summa tua auctoritas fecit, meumque perpetuum de tua singulari virtute iudicium, ut magni mea interesse putarem, et res eas, quas gessissem, tibi notas esse, et non ignorari a te, qua aequitate et continentia tuerer socios provinciamque administrarem. His enim a te cognitis, arbitrabar facilius me
2 tibi, quae vellem, probaturum. Cum in provinciam pridie Kal. Sext. venissem, et propter anni tempus ad exercitum mihi confestim esse eundum viderem, biduum Laodiceae fui, deinde Apameae quatriduum, triduum Synnadis, totidem dies Philomeli. Quibus in oppidis cum magni conventus fuissent, multas civitates acerbissimis tributis et gravissimis usuris et falso aere alieno liberavi. Cumque ante adventum meum seditione quadam exercitus esset dissipatus, quinque cohortes sine legato, sine tribuno militum, denique etiam sine centurione ullo apud Philomelium consedissent, reliquus exercitus esset in Lycaonia, M. Anneio legato imperavi, ut eas quinque cohortes ad reliquum exercitum duceret, coactoque in unum locum exercitu, castra in Lycaonia apud Iconium
3 faceret. Quod cum ab illo diligenter esset actum,

[a] Laodicea was on the coast of Syria, about 50 miles south of Antioch; Apamea on the banks of the Maeander in Phrygia; Synnada in the north of Phrygia Salutaris; and Philomelium in Phrygia Parorius, on the borders of Lycaonia and Pisidia, also mentioned in iii. 8. 5. 6.

[b] See the Introductory note to this Book.

IV

CICERO TO M. CATO

Tarsus, January, 50 B.C.

Your supreme influence and my own unwavering opinion of your exceptional merit have given me the impression that it is greatly to my interest not only that you should be cognisant of my past achievements, but also that you should not be ignorant of the fair dealing and moderation that have characterized my protection of our allies and my administration of this province. For if these facts were brought to your knowledge, I thought I should find it easier to win your approbation of what I proposed to do. 1

When I entered my province on the last day of July 2
and saw that the season of the year necessitated my joining the army without delay, I spent two days at Laodicea, then four days at Apamea, three days at Synnada and as many at Philomelium.[a] Having held important assizes at all those towns, I succeeded in delivering a large number of communities from very harsh taxation, exorbitant interest, and fraudulent debt-claims. And finding that, prior to my arrival, the army had been scattered by what I may almost call a mutiny and that five cohorts, without a *legatus*, without a military tribune, and (would you believe it ?) without even a single centurion, had bivouacked at Philomelium, while the rest of the army was in Lycaonia, I ordered my *legatus*, M. Anneius,[b] to bring those five cohorts to join the rest of the army, and after concentrating the army in one spot, to pitch his camp at Iconium in Lycaonia.

When he had punctiliously carried out that order, I 3

ego in castra a. d. VII. Kal. Septemb. veni, cum interea superioribus diebus ex senatusconsulto et evocatorum firmam manum, et equitatum sane idoneum, et populorum liberorum regumque sociorum auxilia voluntaria comparavissem. Interim cum, exercitu lustrato, iter in Ciliciam facere coepissem, III. Kal. Septemb. legati, a rege Commageno ad me missi, pertumultuose, neque tamen non vere, Parthos
4 in Syriam transisse nuntiaverunt. Quo audito, vehementer sum commotus cum de Syria, tum de mea provincia, de reliqua denique Asia. Itaque exercitum mihi ducendum per Cappadociae regionem eam, quae Ciliciam attingeret, putavi. Nam si me in Ciliciam demisissem, Ciliciam quidem ipsam propter montis Amani naturam facile tenuissem (duo sunt enim aditus in Ciliciam ex Syria, quorum uterque parvis praesidiis propter angustias intercludi potest, nec est quidquam Cilicia contra Syriam munitius); sed me Cappadocia movebat, quae patet a Syria regesque habet finitimos, qui, etiamsi sunt amici nobis, tamen aperte Parthis inimici esse non audent. Itaque in Cappadocia extrema non longe a Tauro apud oppidum Cybistra castra feci, ut et Ciliciam tuerer et, Cappadociam tenens, nova finitimorum consilia impedirem.
5 Interea in hoc tanto motu tantaque exspectatione maximi belli rex Deiotarus, cui non sine causa plurimum semper et meo et tuo et senatus iudicio

myself arrived at the camp on Aug. 24th, having meanwhile, according to the decree of the Senate, got together during the preceding days a trustworthy body of reserves, a quite adequate corps of cavalry, and volunteer auxiliaries from the free peoples and the allied kings. Meantime, when, after reviewing the army, I had begun my march into Cilicia, on Aug. 28th some envoys sent to me by the king of Commagene reported, in a terrible state of agitation, but not without some truth, that the Parthians had crossed over into Syria.

On hearing this I was greatly disturbed about 4
Syria as well as about my province, and in short about the rest of Asia; so I thought it necessary to march my army through that district of Cappadocia which touches on Cilicia; for had I once descended into Cilicia, it is true that I should easily have held Cilicia itself, because of the natural advantage of Mt. Amanus—for there are two approaches to Cilicia from Syria, either of which is so narrow that it can be closed by quite a small garrison, and Cilicia is the best possible fortification against Syria—but on the other hand, I was concerned about Cappadocia, which lies open to Syria and has on its frontiers kings who, though they are secretly on friendly terms with us, yet do not dare to show overt hostility to the Parthians. I therefore encamped in the extreme south of Cappadocia, not far from Mt. Taurus, at the town of Cybistra, so as to protect Cilicia, and at the same time, by holding Cappadocia, to check any fresh designs on the part of the border tribes.

Meanwhile, amid all this commotion and excited 5
anticipation of a very serious war, King Deiotarus, to whose merits I and you and the Senate have always,

tributum est, vir cum benevolentia et fide erga populum Romanum singulari, tum praestanti magnitudine et animi et consili, legatos ad me misit, se cum omnibus suis copiis in mea castra esse venturum. Cuius ego studio officioque commotus egi ei per litteras gratias, idque ut maturaret, hortatus sum.
6 Cum autem ad Cybistra propter rationem belli quinque dies essem moratus, regem Ariobarzanem, cuius salutem a senatu te auctore commendatam habebam, praesentibus insidiis necopinantem liberavi; neque solum ei saluti fui, sed etiam curavi, ut cum auctoritate regnaret. Metram, et eum, quem tu diligenter mihi commendaras, Athenaeum, importunitate Athenaidis exsilio multatos, in maxima apud regem auctoritate gratiaque constitui. Cumque magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, si sacerdos armis se, quod facturus putabatur, defenderet, adulescens et equitatu et peditatu et pecunia paratus, ego tuto[1] iis, qui novari aliquid volebant, perfeci, ut e regno ille discederet, rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis, omni auctoritate aulae com-
7 munita, regnum cum dignitate obtineret. Interea cognovi multorum litteris atque nuntiis, magnas Parthorum copias atque Arabum ad oppidum Antiochiam accessisse, magnumque eorum equitatum, qui in Ciliciam transsiset, ab equitum meorum turmis

[1] ego tuto *is Tyrrell's convincing emendation:* actutum *Nobbe, et alii alia.*

[a] The queen-mother, daughter of Mithridates the Great.
[b] The chief priest of the temple of Comana, said to have been dedicated by Orestes to Artemis Taurica. The priest's authority in Cappadocia was second only to that of the king.

and not without reason, paid the fullest tribute, a man remarkable for his friendliness and fidelity to the people of Rome, as well as for his conspicuous gallantry and sagacity—Deiotarus, I say, sent me an embassy to the effect that he would join me in my camp with all his forces. Profoundly moved by his devotion and courtesy, I expressed my gratitude to him by letter and urged him to hasten the fulfilment of his offer.

When, however, my plan of campaign compelled 6
me to stay for five days near Cybistra, I delivered King Ariobarzanes, whose safety had been entrusted to me by the Senate at your instance, from an imminent plot of which he was not aware, and I not only saved his life, but also took pains to establish his authority as king. Metras and that very Athenaeus whom you yourself had particularly commended to me, punished with banishment as they both had been by the ruthless hostility of Athenais,[a] were established by me in a position of the highest influence and favour with the king. And seeing that a serious war was being stirred up in Cappadocia in the event of the priest,[b] a young man well equipped with horse and foot and funds, defending himself with arms (and he was thought likely to do so), without compromising those who were bent upon a revolution, I contrived that the priest should leave the kingdom, and that the king without riot and without recourse to arms, and with the full authority of the court safeguarded, should remain in dignified possession of his kingdom.

Meanwhile I was informed by written and oral 7
messages from many quarters that strong forces of Parthians and Arabs had approached the town of Antioch, and that a large body of their cavalry which had crossed over into Cilicia had been cut to pieces by

et a cohorte praetoria, quae erat Epiphaneae praesidi causa, occidione occisum. Quare cum viderem a Cappadocia Parthorum copias aversas non longe a finibus esse Ciliciae, quam potui maximis itineribus ad Amanum exercitum duxi. Quo ut veni, hostem ab Antiochia recessisse, Bibulum Antiochiae esse cognovi; Deiotarumque confestim, iam ad me venientem cum magno et firmo equitatu et peditatu, et cum omnibus suis copiis, certiorem feci, non videri esse causam, cur abesset a regno, meque ad eum, si quid novi forte accidisset, statim litteras nuntiosque mis-
8 surum esse. Cumque eo animo venissem, ut utrique provinciae, si ita tempus ferret, subvenirem, tum id quod iam ante statueram, vehementer interesse utriusque provinciae, pacare Amanum et perpetuum hostem ex eo monte tollere, agere perrexi. Cumque me discedere ab eo monte simulassem, et alias partes Ciliciae petere, abessemque ab Amano iter unius diei, et castra apud Epiphaneam fecissem, a. d. quartum Idus Octobres, cum advesperasceret, expedito exercitu ita noctu iter feci, ut a. d. tertium Idus Octobres, cum lucisceret, in Amanum ascenderem, distributisque cohortibus et auxiliis, cum aliis Q. frater, legatus, mecum simul, aliis C. Pomptinus, legatus, reliquis M. Anneius et L. Tullius, legati, praeessent, plerosque nec opinantes oppressimus, qui occisi capti-

[a] On the S.E. border of Cilicia, probably so called after its restoration by Antiochus Epiphanes.

[b] See the Introductory note to this Book.

some squadrons of my horse and a praetorian cohort which was on garrison duty at Epiphanea.[a] Seeing therefore that the Parthian forces having been headed off from Cappadocia were not far from the frontiers of Cilicia, I marched my army, covering as much ground as I could by forced marches, to Amanus. When I got there I received the intelligence that the enemy had retired from Antioch, and that Bibulus was there; so I informed Deiotarus, who was by this time hurrying to join me with a large and strong body of horse and foot and all his available forces, that I did not think there was any reason why he should absent himself from his kingdom, and that if perchance anything fresh occurred, I would immediately communicate with him by letter and messengers.

Having arrived with the intention of coming to the 8
aid of each of the two provinces, should circumstances necessitate it, I then proceeded to perform a task which I had some time previously decided was of paramount importance to both provinces—the pacification of Amanus and the dislodging from that mountain of a perpetual foe. Having made a feint of leaving that mount, and directing my attention to other parts of Cilicia, when I was one day's march from Amanus and had pitched my camp near Epiphanea on the 12th of October, as the evening was drawing in, with a lightly equipped army I covered so much ground by a night march that, as the dawn was breaking on the 13th, I was making my way up Amanus. When I had duly disposed my cohorts and auxiliaries, some being commanded by my brother Quintus, my *legatus*, and myself, others by C. Pomptinus, and the rest by M. Anneius and L. Tullius, all three my *legati*,[b] we surprised and crushed the greater number of them, who

que sunt, interclusi fuga. Eranam autem, quae fuit non vici instar, sed urbis, quod erat Amani caput, itemque Sepyram et Commorin, acriter et diu repugnantes, Pomptino illam partem Amani tenente, ex antelucano tempore usque ad horam diei decimam, magna multitudine hostium occisa, cepimus, castella-
9 que vi[1] capta complura incendimus. His rebus ita gestis, castra in radicibus Amani habuimus apud Aras Alexandri quatriduum, et in reliquiis Amani delendis agrisque vastandis, quae pars eius montis meae provinciae est, id tempus omne consumpsimus.
10 Confectis his rebus, ad oppidum Eleutherocilicum Pindenissum exercitum abduxi; quod cum esset altissimo et munitissimo loco, ab iisque incoleretur, qui ne regibus quidem umquam paruissent, cum et fugitivos reciperent, et Parthorum adventum acerrime exspectarent, ad existimationem imperi pertinere arbitratus sum comprimere eorum audaciam; quo facilius etiam ceterorum animi, qui alieni essent ab imperio nostro, frangerentur. Vallo et fossa circumdedi; sex castellis, castrisque maximis sepsi; aggere, vineis, turribus oppugnavi; ususque tormentis multis, multis sagittariis, magno labore meo, sine ulla molestia sumptuve sociorum, septimo quinquagesimo die rem confeci: ut, omnibus partibus

[1] *Madvig*: sex (vi) *MSS.*

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[a] Near Issus, in the S.E. extremity of Cilicia. See ii. 10. 3.
[b] Pindenissus was a town on a spur of Mt. Amanus.

were killed or captured, being cut off from flight. Erana, moreover, which was not so much a village as a city in size, and the capital of Amanus, and also Sepyra and Commoris, though the inhabitants offered a stout and prolonged resistance from before dawn to four in the afternoon (Pomptinus occupying that part of Amanus), after a large number of the enemy had fallen, were taken by us; and we carried by assault and set fire to several fortresses.

Having thus completed these operations, we stayed 9
in camp for four days near the Altars of Alexander,[a] and all that time we spent in effacing the last traces of Amanus, and ravaging the lands on that part of the mountain which is included in my province.

When this was finished I marched my army off to 10
Pindenissus,[b] a town of the Eleutherocilices; and because the town was on a very elevated and strongly fortified site, and was inhabited by men who had never submitted even to the kings, and not only harboured fugitives but were also looking forward with the utmost eagerness to the coming of the Parthians, I considered it of importance to the prestige of the Empire that I should put a stop to their audacity; and this would make it all the easier to break the spirit of all the other tribes who showed hostility to our rule.

I surrounded the town with a stockade and trench; I fenced it in with six forts and extensive encampments; I attacked it with earthworks, mantlets, and towers, and by means of a large number of catapults and a strong force of bowmen, with no little personal exertion, without causing any trouble or expense to our allies, I completed the operation in fifty-seven days, so that when every quarter of the city had been

urbis disturbatis aut incensis, compulsi in potestatem meam pervenirent. His erant finitimi pari scelere et audacia Tebarani; ab his, Pindenisso capto, obsides accepi; exercitum in hiberna dimisi. Q. fratrem negotio praeposui, ut in vicis aut captis aut male
11 pacatis exercitus collocaretur. Nunc velim tibi sic persuadeas, si de his rebus ad senatum relatum sit, me existimaturum summam mihi laudem tributam, si tu honorem meum sententia tua comprobaris. Idque, etsi talibus de rebus gravissimos homines et rogare solere et rogari scio, tamen admonendum potius te a me, quam rogandum puto. Tu es enim is, qui me tuis sententiis saepissime ornasti, qui oratione, qui praedicatione, qui summis laudibus in senatu, in concionibus ad caelum extulisti, cuius ego semper tanta esse verborum pondera putavi, ut uno verbo tuo, cum mea laude coniuncto, omnia assequi me arbitrarer. Te denique memini, cum cuidam clarissimo atque optimo viro supplicationem non decerneres, dicere, te decreturum, si referretur ob eas res, quas is consul in urbe gessisset. Tu idem mihi supplicationem decrevisti togato, non ut multis, re-

[a] Distinguished senators "recorded their votes" by making a speech, as opposed to those "*qui pedibus in sententiam ibant.*"

[b] The consul referred to is no doubt Lentulus Spinther, whose application for a *supplicatio* was opposed by Cato, who said he would support it if it were on the grounds of Lentulus's services to the State in advocating Cicero's recall as consul in 57. See note *a* to i. 1.

either dismantled or burnt, they were driven to extremities and surrendered to me unconditionally. Their next neighbours were the inhabitants of Tebara, as ruffianly and daring as themselves; from these, on the capture of Pindenissus, I received hostages, and then I dismissed my troops to their winter quarters. I put my brother Quintus in command, to arrange that the army should be stationed in villages that had either been taken or not completely quelled.

And now I would have you assure yourself, that, 11
should these matters be brought before the Senate, I shall consider myself the recipient of the highest possible encomium if any honour offered me meets with the approval of your vote. And as regards that, although in connexion with such matters I am well aware that even men of the greatest weight often both make and have to listen to requests, still I think that what I ought to do in your case is merely to remind you rather than address you a request. For you are the man who has so repeatedly complimented me in recording your vote,[a] who, in conversation, in public commendation, in the very high eulogies spoken in the Senate and in public meetings, has extolled me to the skies; you are he, the weight of whose words I have ever so respected as to feel that a single word of yours, if spoken in my praise, fulfilled all my aspirations. It was you, yes, you who, when declining to vote for a *supplicatio* in honour of a certain most illustrious and excellent person, declared, I remember, that you would vote for it, if only the motion were confined to what that person had done in the city in the days of his consulship.[b] It was you also who voted for a *supplicatio* in my honour when a mere civilian, not, as in many cases "for sound administration of the

publica bene gesta, sed, ut nemini, republica con-
12 servata. Mitto, quod invidiam, quod pericula, quod omnes meas tempestates et subieris, et multo etiam magis, si per me licuisset, subire paratissimus fueris, quod denique inimicum meum tuum inimicum putaris; cuius etiam interitum, ut facile intellegerem, mihi quantum tribueres, Milonis causa in senatu defendenda, approbaris. A me autem haec sunt profecta, quae ego in benefici loco non pono, sed in veri testimoni atque iudici, ut praestantissimas tuas virtutes non tacitus admirarer (quis enim in te id non facit?) sed in omnibus orationibus, sententiis dicendis, causis agendis, omnibus scriptis, Graecis, Latinis, omni denique varietate litterarum mearum, te non modo iis, quos vidissemus, sed iis, de quibus
13 audissemus, omnibus anteferrem. Quaeres fortasse, quid sit, quod ego hoc nescio quid gratulationis et honoris a senatu tanti aestimem. Agam iam tecum familiariter, ut est et studiis et officiis nostris mutuis et summa amicitia dignum, et necessitudine etiam paterna. Si quisquam fuit umquam remotus et natura, et magis etiam, ut mihi quidem sentire videor, ratione atque doctrina, ab inani laude et sermonibus vulgi, ego profecto is sum. Testis est consulatus meus, in quo, sicut in reliqua vita, fateor

[a] Clodius.

Republic," but, as in no other single case, "for having preserved the Republic."

I pass over the fact that you not only faced the un- 12
popularity, the perils, and the brunt of the storms that broke upon me, but were also perfectly ready to go even further, much further, in facing them, had I permitted it; the fact, in short, that you regarded my enemy[a] as an enemy to yourself, and that, by pleading the cause of Milo in the Senate, you showed your approval of even that enemy's death, so that I could easily recognize your high appreciation of me. What I have done on my side however—and I do not classify it under the head of favours conferred, but under that of true testimony and deliberate opinion—amounts to this, that in my admiration of your outstanding merits (and who does not admire them?) I have not been silent, but in all my speeches, both in the Senate and at the bar, in all my writings, Greek or Latin, in short, in all my various literary works, I have ranked you not only above all whom I ever met, but above all of whom I ever heard.

You will perhaps ask why it is that I so highly prize 13
this undefinable something in the way of congratulation and honour that I look for from the Senate. Well, I shall now talk to you in a familiar way, as befits our common tastes, our mutual good offices, our sincere friendship, and also the close intimacy of our fathers.

If ever there was a man who by natural disposition, and even more, as I seem to feel, by reasoned judgment and education, stood aloof from empty plaudits and vulgar talk, that man is assuredly myself. Witness my consulship, in the course of which, as in the rest of my life, I admit that I eagerly pursued what-

ea me studiose secutum, ex quibus vera gloria nasci posset; ipsam quidem gloriam per se numquam putavi expetendam. Itaque et provinciam ornatam et spem non dubiam triumphi neglexi. Sacerdotium denique, cum (quemadmodum te existimare arbitror) non difficillime consequi possem, non appetivi. Idem post iniuriam acceptam (quam tu reipublicae calamitatem semper appellas, meam non modo non calamitatem, sed etiam gloriam), studui quam ornatissima senatus populique Romani de me iudicia intercedere. Itaque et augur postea fieri volui, quod antea neglexeram, et eum honorem, qui a senatu tribui rebus bellicis solet, neglectum a me olim, nunc mihi
14 expetendum puto. Huic meae voluntati, in qua inest aliqua vis desideri ad sanandum vulnus iniuriae, ut faveas adiutorque sis, quod paullo ante me negaram rogaturum, vehementer te rogo, sed ita, si non ieiunum hoc nescio quid, quod ego gessi, et contemnendum videbitur, sed tale atque tantum, ut multi, nequaquam paribus rebus, honores summos a senatu consecuti sint. Equidem etiam mihi illud animum advertisse videor (scis enim, quam attente te audire soleam), te non tam res gestas, quam mores,

[a] *i.e.*, the augurate. Cicero might have accepted the augurate in 59 had it been offered him, but he did not ask for it. He was elected augur in 53, in the place of Crassus, killed at Carrhae.

[b] His banishment in 58.

[c] *i.e.*, a triumph.

ever might be a source of true glory; glory, in and for itself, I have never thought worth the seeking. So I shut my eyes to the lure of a province with all its official appanages, and, by so doing, to the certain hope of a triumph. And finally, as to the priesthood,[a] although I might have obtained it without much difficulty (and that I believe is your opinion also), I never applied for it. And yet, for all that, after the injustice I had suffered[b]—an injustice which you always refer to as a degradation to the State, though not only no degradation, but even an honour, to myself—I was anxious that there should follow decisions of the Senate and Roman people regarding myself of the most distinguished character. And so I subsequently set my heart on what I had previously regarded with indifference—my election as augur; and furthermore, as to the honour[c] usually conferred by the Senate for services in the field, though I never troubled about it in the old days, I now think I should make an effort to secure it.

Mingled with this aspiration of mine is a sort of in- 14
tense longing to heal the wound I suffered in the injustice done me; and I earnestly beg of you (as a moment ago I declared I never would) to give it your countenance and support, but only if you think that whatever this achievement of mine may have been, it was not meagre and contemptible, but such in quality and extent that many, whose exploits were by no means comparable with mine, have obtained the highest honours from the Senate. This too I seem to have noticed (and you know how attentively I listen to you), that in the award or non-award of honours, it is not the achievements themselves that it is your practice to keep before your eyes so much as the

instituta, atque vitam imperatorum spectare solere in habendis aut non habendis honoribus. Quod si in mea causa considerabis, reperies, me exercitu imbecillo, contra metum maximi belli, firmissimum praesidium habuisse aequitatem et continentiam. His ego subsidiis ea sum consecutus, quae nullis legionibus consequi potuissem, ut ex alienissimis sociis amicissimos, ex infidelissimis firmissimos redderem, animosque novarum rerum exspectatione suspensos
15 ad veteris imperi benevolentiam traducerem. Sed nimis haec multa de me, praesertim ad te, a quo uno omnium sociorum querellae audiuntur; cognosces ex iis, qui meis institutis se recreatos putant. Cumque omnes uno prope consensu de me apud te ea, quae mihi optatissima sunt, praedicabunt, tum duae maximae clientelae tuae, Cyprus insula et Cappadociae regnum, tecum de me loquentur, puto etiam regem Deiotarum, qui uni tibi est maxime necessarius. Quae si etiam maiora sunt, et in omnibus saeculis pauciores viri reperti sunt, qui suas cupiditates, quam qui hostium copias vincerent, est profecto tuum, cum ad res bellicas haec, quae rariora et difficiliora sunt, genera virtutis adiunxeris, ipsas etiam illas res
16 gestas illustriores[1] et maiores putare. Extremum illud est, ut, quasi diffidens rogationi meae, philo-

[1] *Manutius*: iustiores *Nobbe and MSS.*

[a] He refers to his success in winning over the province by his wisdom and moderation, which he says is something greater than mere military success, but which, if combined with military success, should so enhance the value of that success as to make it worthy of a triumph.

character, principles, and everyday life of the commanders. And if you consider my case in like manner, you will find that, weak as my army was, I found my strongest safeguard against the threat of a most serious war in my fair-dealing and moderation. With these forces to aid me, I succeeded, where no legions could have enabled me to succeed, in converting the most disaffected allies into the most devoted, the most disloyal into the most trustworthy, and in bringing back hearts that wavered in anticipation of a change of rule into a feeling of friendliness for the old régime.

But this is too much about myself, especially in 15
writing to you, the one and only man who gives ear to the complaints of all our allies; you will learn all about it from those who attribute their restoration to life to my administration. And not only will everybody almost with one consent make such remarks about me in your hearing as are all I could pray for, but also two of your largest client-communities, the island of Cyprus and the kingdom of Cappadocia, will speak to you about me; and so too, I fancy, will King Deiotarus, who is more attached to you than to any man alive.

And if all this is something of greater importance,[a] and if throughout the ages fewer men have been found who could conquer their own desires than could conquer the enemy's forces, you are surely bound, when you have added these rarer and more difficult forms of moral excellence to success on the field, to regard that very success itself as being enhanced in distinction and consequence.

My last resource is this—to send you, as if distrust- 16
ing my own appeal, a representative to plead for me—

sophiam ad te allegem, qua nec mihi carior ulla umquam res in vita fuit, nec hominum generi maius a dis munus ullum est datum. Haec igitur, quae mihi tecum communis est, societas studiorum atque artium nostrarum, quibus a pueritia dediti ac devincti, soli propemodum nos philosophiam illam veram et antiquam, quae quibusdam oti esse ac desidiae videtur, in forum atque in rempublicam atque in ipsam aciem paene deduximus, tecum agit de mea laude, cui negari a Catone fas esse non puto. Quamobrem tibi sic persuadeas velim, si mihi tua sententia tributus honos ex meis litteris fuerit, me sic existimaturum, cum auctoritate tua, tum benevolentia erga me, mihi quod maxime cupierim contigisse. Vale.

V

M. CATO S. P. D. M. T. C. IMP.

Romae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Quod et respublica me et nostra amicitia hortatur, libenter facio, ut tuam virtutem, innocentiam, diligentiam, cognitam in maximis rebus domi togati, armati foris pari industria administrari gaudeam. Itaque, quod pro meo iudicio facere potui, ut innocentia consilioque tuo defensam provinciam, servatum

[a] This letter is an answer to the last. Cato voted against the motion for a *supplicatio* in Cicero's honour, though he proposed a complimentary vote, and here gives his reasons for doing so. For this and the two following letters see the Introductory Note to this Book.

none other than philosophy, than which nothing in life has ever been more precious to myself, no greater boon ever bestowed by the gods upon mankind. That partnership then which we share in our pursuits and attainments, to which we have so strictly bound and devoted ourselves from boyhood that we stand practically alone in having introduced that true philosophy of the ancients, regarded by some as the hobby of the leisured and indolent, into the forum, into political life, yes, almost into the field of battle itself—that partnership, I say, now pleads with you the cause of my renown, and it is, to me, unthinkable that the plea should not be accepted by a Cato. I would, therefore, have you assure yourself of this, that if in consequence of my despatch that honour is conferred upon me by your vote, I shall consider it is due to your influence combined with your goodwill that I have been blessed with the attainment of my heart's desire. Farewell.

V

M. CATO TO CICERO [a]

Rome, end of April, 50 B.C.

It is a pleasure to me to do what both the public 1
interests and our friendship prompt me to do—to rejoice, I mean, that the courage, integrity, and energy you have already evinced as a civilian in the gravest crisis of your career at home are now being applied with equal assiduity to your military command abroad. What therefore I could conscientiously do, that I did; that is to say, I extolled by speech and vote the integrity and judgment you have shown in protecting a

Ariobarzanis cum ipso rege regnum, sociorum revocatam ad studium imperi nostri voluntatem,
2 sententia mea et decreto laudarem, feci. Supplicationem decretam, si tu, qua in re nihil fortuito, sed summa tua ratione et continentia, reipublicae provisum est, dis immortalibus gratulari nos, quam tibi referre acceptum mavis, gaudeo. Quod si triumphi praerogativam putas supplicationem, et idcirco casum potius, quam te laudari mavis, neque supplicationem sequitur semper triumphus, et triumpho multo clarius est, senatum iudicare, potius mansuetudine et innocentia imperatoris provinciam, quam vi militum aut benignitate deorum retentam atque conservatam
3 esse; quod ego mea sententia censebam. Atque haec ego idcirco ad te contra consuetudinem meam pluribus scripsi, ut, quod maxime volo, existimes me laborare, ut tibi persuadeam me et voluisse de tua maiestate, quod amplissimum sim arbitratus, et quod tu maluisti, factum esse gaudere. Vale, et nos dilige, et instituto itinere severitatem diligentiamque sociis et reipublicae praesta.

[a] This is surely the bitterest sarcasm, which Cicero either does not see, or wisely ignores. Cato plainly insinuates that Cicero, while posing as a pious man, profoundly grateful to the gods (for *casus* here is synonymous with *di immortales* above), has his eye all the time on the triumph that he thinks will follow, *i.e.*, on his own personal advancement, and nothing else.

province, in saving the kingdom and person of King Ariobarzanes, and in winning back the hearts of our allies to an enthusiastic acceptance of our rule.

As to the *supplicatio* having been decreed, if, in a 2
matter wherein the interests of the State were secured not in any degree by chance, but by your own consummate statesmanship and self-restraint, you yourself prefer that we should render thanks to the immortal gods, rather than credit you with that success —well then I am glad of it. But if you imagine that a *supplicatio* is a sure earnest of a triumph, and if that be your reason for wishing good luck to get all the praise rather than yourself,[a] let me tell you that a triumph does not invariably follow a *supplicatio*, and that it is a much more splendid thing than any triumph to have the deliberate declaration of the Senate that the retention and preservation of the province was due to the gentle rule and probity of its commander, rather than to military force or the favour of heaven; and that was my conviction when I recorded my vote.

Now my reason for having written to you at such 3
length in defiance of my usual practice is to induce you to believe (and I am most anxious you should) that I am making every effort to convince you of two facts—that I gave my support to that course which I considered most effectively conducive to your honour, and that at the same time I rejoice at the adoption of the course you personally preferred.

Farewell, and maintain your esteem for me, and, following the path upon which you have entered, assure to the allies and the Republic the continuance of your strict devotion to duty.

VI

M. T. C. S. P. D. M. CATONI

Rhodi, A.U.C. 704.

1 *Laetus sum laudari me,*
inquit Hector, opinor, apud Naevium,
abs te, pater, a laudato viro.

Ea est enim profecto iucunda laus, quae ab iis proficiscitur, qui ipsi in laude vixerunt. Ego vero vel gratulatione litterarum tuarum, vel testimoniis sententiae dictae, nihil est, quod me non assecutum putem. Idque mihi cum amplissimum, tum gratissimum est, te libenter amicitiae dedisse, quod liquido veritati dares. Et, si non modo omnes, verum etiam multi Catones essent in civitate nostra, in qua unum exstitisse mirabile est, quem ego currum, aut quam lauream cum tua laudatione conferrem? Nam ad meum sensum et ad illud sincerum ac subtile iudicium nihil potest esse laudabilius, quam ea tua oratio, quae
2 est ad me perscripta a meis necessariis. Sed causam meae voluntatis, non enim dicam cupiditatis, exposui tibi superioribus litteris; quae etiamsi parum iusta tibi visa est, hanc tamen habet rationem, non ut nimis concupiscendus honos, sed tamen, si deferatur a senatu, minime aspernandus esse videatur. Spero autem illum ordinem, pro meis ob rempublicam

[a] *i.e.*, to a triumph. *Cf. Ep.* 4. 14 above.

VI

CICERO TO M. CATO

Tarsus or Rhodes, about August 10, 50 B.C.

"*Right glad am I to win the praise,*" as Hector says, 1
if I am not mistaken, in Naevius, "*of one so praised as thou, my sire*"; for that is undoubtedly pleasant praise which comes from those who have themselves lived in an atmosphere of praise. Yes, I assure you, whether because of your letter of congratulation, or the testimony of your expression of opinion in the Senate, I feel there is nothing left for me to attain. And what is at once most complimentary and most gratifying to me is, that you cheerfully conceded to friendship what you unhesitatingly conceded to truth. And if, I don't say everybody, but even a fair number of folk were Catos in our state, in which the epiphany of a single Cato is a miracle, what triumphal car or what laurel wreath could I compare with a panegyric from you? For whether I regard my own feelings or the conspicuous sincerity and penetration of your judgment, there can be no higher panegyric than that speech of yours, a full copy of which has been sent to me by my friends.

Now the reason of my aspiration[a] (I shall not call it a 2
passionate desire) I have explained to you in a former letter; and although it has struck you as being hardly strong enough, it still has this much justification, that while it seems that the honour is not one to be greedily coveted, yet, if bestowed by the Senate, one that should by no means be treated with contempt. I hope, however, that in consideration of the labours I

susceptis laboribus, me non indignum honore, usitato praesertim, existimaturum. Quod si ita erit, tantum ex te peto, quod amicissime scribis, ut, cum tuo iudicio, quod amplissimum esse arbitraris, mihi tribueris, si id, quod maluero, acciderit, gaudeas. Sic enim fecisse te, et sensisse, et scripsisse video: resque ipsa declarat, tibi illum honorem nostrum supplicationis iucundum fuisse, quod scribendo adfuisti. Haec enim senatus consulta non ignoro ab amicissimis eius, cuius de honore agitur, scribi solere. Ego, ut spero, te propediem videbo; atque utinam republica meliore, quam timeo!

VII

M. T. C. PROCOS. S. P. D. C. MARCELLO COS. DES.

Inter Iconium et Cybistra, A.U.C. 703.

Maxima sum laetitia affectus, cum audivi te consulem factum esse, eumque honorem tibi deos fortunare volo, atque a te pro tua parentisque tui dignitate administrari. Nam cum te semper amavi dilexique, tum mei amantissimum cognovi in omni varietate rerum mearum, tum patris tui pluribus beneficiis, vel defensus tristibus temporibus vel orna-

[a] Consul in 50 with Lucius Paullus. For the three Marcelli see note *b* on iv. 7. 6.

have undertaken in the public interests, that order will not deem me unworthy of such an honour, especially as its bestowal would be according to custom. If it so turns out, all I ask you to do is (to quote your very friendly words), since you have paid me what you consider the highest possible compliment by the opinion you expressed, that you should feel glad if what I have preferred comes to pass. That you have so acted, so felt, and so written, is evident to me, and the very fact of your being party to the drafting of the decree, clearly proves that the great honour done me by the *supplicatio* was a pleasure to you. For I am well aware that such decrees of the Senate are usually drafted by the greatest friends of the recipient of the honour. I shall see you, I hope, at an early date, and I pray that the political situation may then be better than I fear it will be.

VII

CICERO TO GAIUS MARCELLUS, CONSULT ELECT[a]

Between Iconium and Cybistra, early in September, 51 B.C.

I was extremely delighted to hear that you had been made consul, and I pray that heaven may prosper your office, and that you may administer it in accordance with your own and your father's honourable position. For not only have I always loved and esteemed you, but I have also found you sincerely devoted to myself through all the vicissitudes of my fortunes. Moreover, because of the repeated good services of your father, when he either defended me in the days of my gloom or honoured me in the days of

tus secundis, et sum totus vester et esse debeo; cum praesertim matris tuae, gravissimae atque optimae feminae, maiora erga salutem dignitatemque meam studia, quam erant a muliere postulanda, perspexerim. Quapropter a te peto in maiorem modum, ut me absentem diligas atque defendas.

VIII

M. T. C. PROC. S. P. D. MARCELLO COLLEGAE

Inter Iconium et Cybistra, A.U.C. 703.

Marcellum tuum consulem factum, teque ea laetitia affectum esse, quam maxime optasti, mirandum in modum gaudeo, idque cum ipsius causa, tum quod te omnibus secundissimis rebus dignissimum iudico, cuius erga me singularem benevolentiam vel in labore meo vel in honore perspexi, totam denique domum vestram vel salutis vel dignitatis meae studiosissimam cupidissimamque cognovi. Quare gratum mihi feceris, si uxori tuae Iuniae, gravissimae atque optimae feminae, meis verbis eris gratulatus. A te id, quod consuesti, peto, me absentem diligas atque defendas.

[a] Father of the C. Marcellus addressed in the preceding letter.

my glory, I am, and I am bound to be, heart and soul at the disposal of all of you, especially as I am fully conscious of the energetic support (more than should have been demanded of any woman) given to my welfare and position by that most sterling and excellent lady, your mother. And that is my justification for entreating you with special earnestness to show your esteem for me by defending me in my absence.

VIII

CICERO TO GAIUS MARCELLUS,[a] HIS BROTHER AUGUR

Between Iconium and Cybistra, early in September, 51 B.C.

That your son Marcellus has been made consul, and that you have felt that thrill of joy for which you most devoutly prayed, is an inexpressible pleasure to me, and that not only on his own account, but because I consider that you also richly deserve all that the happiest fortune can bestow. For I have had convincing proof of your incomparable goodness of heart towards me whether in my troubles or in my triumphs; in short I have found your whole family most enthusiastic and eager in their support of my civil standing or official distinction (call it which you will). For that reason you will do me a kindness if you pass on my congratulations to that most sterling and excellent lady, your wife Junia. I beg of you to do what you always have done—to show your regard for me and defend me in my absence.

IX

M. T. C. PROCOS. S. P. D. M. MARCELLO COS.

Inter Iconium et Cybistra, A.U.C. 703.

1 Te et pietatis in tuos et animi in rempublicam et clarissimi atque optimi consulatus, C. Marcello consule facto, fructum cepisse, vehementer gaudeo. Non dubito, quid praesentes sentiant; nos quidem longinqui, et a te ipso missi in ultimas gentes, ad caelum mehercule te tollimus verissimis ac iustissimis laudibus. Nam cum te a pueritia tua unice dilexerim, tuque me in omni genere semper amplissimum esse et volueris et iudicaris, tum hoc vel tuo facto, vel populi Romani de te iudicio, multo acrius vehementiusque diligo, maximaque laetitia afficior, cum ab hominibus prudentissimis virisque optimis, omnibus dictis, factis, studiis, institutis, vel me tui similem
2 esse audio vel te mei. Unum vero si addis ad praeclarissimas res consulatus tui, ut aut mihi succedat quam primum aliquis, aut ne quid accedat temporis ad id, quod tu mihi et senatus consulto et lege finisti, omnia me per te consecutum putabo. Cura ut valeas, et me absentem diligas atque defendas.

[a] Marcus Marcellus, consul in 51 with Servius Sulpicius Rufus; he was cousin, not brother, to C. Marcellus, consul designate for the succeeding year (50). For a further account of the Marcelli see Indices to Vols. I and II.

[b] According to one of the provisions of the *Lex Pompeia de Provinciis* the consuls were empowered to bring before the people a *lex de Imperio* in the case of each governor, determining the length of his tenure of office, etc.

IX

CICERO TO MARCUS MARCELLUS,[a] CONSUL

Between Iconium and Cybistra, early in September, 51 B.C.

I am highly delighted that by the election of Gaius 1
Marcellus to the consulship you have gathered the fruit of your affection for your family, of your devotion to the commonwealth, and of your own most illustrious and admirable consulship. I have no doubt as to the sentiments of those on the spot, when I myself, far away as I am, and despatched by yourself to the ends of the earth, am extolling you, I vow, up to the skies, and my praises are as sincere as they are well deserved. For while I have had a particular affection for you from my boyhood, and you have ever desired, and indeed deemed me to possess the widest influence in every direction, my affection for you has been greatly deepened and enhanced by this achievement of yours, or shall I call it this pronouncement of the Roman people in your favour? And I feel a thrill of pure delight when I am told by people of uncommon shrewdness and men of the highest character that in every word and deed, pursuit and principle, I am like you, or you are like me (whichever you prefer).

If, however, you add to the brilliant achievements 2
of your consulship by contriving either that somebody may succeed me at the earliest possible date, or that no addition is made to the time you definitely fixed for me both by a decree of the Senate and by the law,[b]—well, then I shall consider that there is nothing you have not enabled me to secure. Take care of your health, and show your regard for me and defend me in my absence.

3 Quae mihi de Parthis nuntiata sunt, quia non putabam a me etiam nunc scribenda esse publice, propterea ne pro familiaritate quidem nostra volui ad te scribere; ne, cum ad consulem scripsissem, publice viderer scripsisse.

X

M. T. C. IMP. S. P. D. C. MARCELLO C. F. COS.

Tarsi, A.U.C. 704.

1 Quoniam id accidit, quod mihi maxime fuit optatum, ut omnium Marcellorum, Marcellinorum etiam (mirificus enim generis ac nominis vestri fuit erga me semper animus), quoniam ergo ita accidit, ut omnium vestrum studio tuus consulatus satisfacere posset, in quem meae res gestae, lausque et honos earum potissimum incideret, peto a te id, quod facillimum factu est, non aspernante, ut confido senatu, ut quam honorificentissimum senatus con-
2 sultum, litteris meis recitatis, faciundum cures. Si mihi tecum minus esset, quam est cum tuis omnibus, allegarem ad te illos, a quibus intellegis me praecipue diligi. Patris tui beneficia in me sunt amplissima; neque enim saluti meae neque honori amicior quisquam dici potest. Frater tuus quanti me faciat

[a] The Marcellini were a branch of the Marcellus family.

[b] What he means is, to put it shortly, that his being made consul gives C. Marcellus an opportunity of making good all that this devotion of his family to Cicero deserved.

Dr. Page remarks that in these unblushing requests Cicero always veils himself in obscurity, and that this long sentence is *deliberately embarrassed.*

As for the reports I have received about the 3
Parthians, I thought that I ought not even now to make them the subject of a public despatch, and that is the reason why in spite of our intimacy I did not wish to write to you, lest, when I had written to a consul, it might be supposed that I had written officially.

X

CICERO TO GAIUS MARCELLUS, CONSUL

Tarsus, January, 50 B.C.

Since, as I have most earnestly desired, it has so 1
happened that the devotion of all the Marcelli, and Marcellini[a] too (for the kindly feeling your family and those of your name have ever shown me is something amazing)—since, as I say, it has so happened that the devotion you have all felt can find its full expression in your consulship because with that particular consulship my achievements and such praise and honour as attach to them coincide[b]—for that reason I beg of you (and it is a thing most easily done, for the Senate, I am confident, is not likely to reject it) to see that after the reading of my despatch, the decree of the Senate should be drafted in the most complimentary terms possible.

Had I less to do with you than with all your folk, I 2
should commission those to present my case to you, whom you know to be particularly attached to me. Your father's services to me are magnificent, and no man can be said to be a more friendly supporter of my welfare or my public position. How highly your brother values and has always valued me, there is no

semperque fecerit, esse hominem, qui ignoret, arbitror neminem. Domus tua denique tota me semper omnibus summis officiis prosecuta est. Neque vero tu in me diligendo cuiquam concessisti tuorum. Quare a te peto in maiorem modum, ut me per te quam ornatissimum velis esse, meamque et in supplicatione decernenda, et in ceteris rebus existimationem satis tibi esse commendatam putes.

XI

M. T. C. IMP. S. P. D. C. MARCELLO COS.

Tarsi, A.U.C. 704.

1 Quantae curae tibi meus honos fuerit, et quam idem exstiteris consul in me ornando et amplificando, qui fueras semper cum parentibus tuis et cum tota domo, etsi res ipsa loquebatur, cognovi tamen ex meorum omnium litteris. Itaque nihil est tantum, quod ego non tua causa debeam, facturusque sim
2 cum studiose tum libenter. Nam magni interest, cui debeas; debere autem nemini malui, quam tibi, cui me cum studia communia, beneficia paterna tuaque iam ante coniunxerant, tum accedit mea quidem sententia maximum vinculum, quod ita rempublicam geris atque gessisti, qua mihi carius nihil

man living, I believe, who does not know. In fine your whole family has never ceased to honour me with the highest favours of every kind; nor have you yourself yielded place to any of your family in affection for me. And that is why I beg of you with no ordinary earnestness to wish me the highest possible honour as far as you are yourself concerned, and to consider that my reputation, both in the voting for a *supplicatio* and in all other matters, needs no further recommendation in your eyes.

XI

CICERO TO GAIUS MARCELLUS, CONSUL

Tarsus, July, 50 B.C.

Although the facts spoke for themselves, none the 1
less from the letters of every one of my friends I have learned fully how much pains you took about the honour done me, and how, in conferring as consul this distinction and eminence upon me, you showed yourself to be just the same as, in common with your parents and all your family, you always have been. Consequently there is no service so great that I do not owe you as a debt, and that I am not ready to discharge with as much devotion as pleasure.

For it matters greatly to whom one is indebted; 2
but there is nobody to whom I had rather be indebted than to you, to whom I had not only been previously united by identity of tastes and your own and your father's services to me, but there exists besides what is in my opinion the strongest bond of all—the fact that your past and present administration of the Republic (to me the most precious thing in the

est, ut, quantum tibi omnes boni debeant, quo minus tantumdem ego unus debeam, non recusem. Quamobrem tibi velim hi sint exitus, quos mereris et quos fore confido. Ego, si me navigatio non morabitur, quae incurrebat in ipsos Etesias, propediem te, ut spero, videbo.

XII

M. T. C. IMP. S. P. D. L. PAULLO COS. DES.

Inter Iconium et Cybistra, A.U.C. 703.

1 Etsi mihi numquam fuit dubium, quin te populus Romanus, pro tuis summis in rempublicam meritis et pro amplissima familiae dignitate, summo studio, cunctis suffragiis consulem facturus esset, tamen incredibili laetitia sum affectus, cum id mihi nuntiatum est; eumque honorem tibi deos fortunare volo, a teque ex tua maiorumque tuorum dignitate
2 administrari. Atque utinam praesens illum diem mihi optatissimum videre potuissem, proque tuis amplissimis erga me studiis atque beneficiis tibi operam meam studiumque navare! Quam mihi facultatem quoniam hic necopinatus et improvisus provinciae casus eripuit, tamen, ut te consulem, rempublicam pro tua dignitate gerentem, videre possim, magno opere a te peto, ut operam des efficiasque, ne quid mihi fiat iniuriae, neve quid temporis ad meum

[a] Winds that blow from the N.W. for forty days in the Levant.

world) has been and is such that I do not shrink from taking upon myself alone the full amount of the debt owed you by all good citizens put together. I may therefore hope that things will result as you deserve, and as I am confident they will.

For myself, unless I am delayed on my voyage, which exactly coincides with the Etesian winds,[a] I shall see you, I hope, at an early date.

XII

CICERO TO LUCIUS AEMILIUS PAULLUS, CONSUL ELECT

Between Iconium and Cybistra, September, 51 B.C.

Although I never had any doubt that the people of Rome, in consideration of your magnificent services to the Republic, and the highly influential position of your family, would elect you consul with the greatest enthusiasm and unanimity of voting, I had yet a thrill of inconceivable joy when the news reached me; and I pray the gods to prosper your high office, and that you may administer it in a manner befitting your own and your ancestors' position. 1

And would that I had been able to be on the spot and see that eagerly desired day, and in return for all your splendid devotion and kindness to me to render you my aid and active support! But since that opportunity has been snatched from me by the unexpected and unforeseen incident of my provincial appointment, nevertheless, so that I may have the chance of seeing you a consul administering the Republic as befits your position, I earnestly beg of you to make every effort to prevent my suffering any injustice, or any exten- 2

annuum munus accedat. Quod si feceris, magnus ad tua pristina erga me studia cumulus accedet.

XIII

M. T. C. IMP. S. P. D. L. PAULLO COS.

Tarsi, A.U.C. 704.

1 Maxime mihi fuit optatum Romae esse tecum multas ob causas, sed praecipue, ut et in petendo, et in gerendo consulatu meum tibi debitum studium perspicere posses. Ac petitionis quidem tuae ratio mihi semper fuit explorata; sed tamen navare operam volebam. In consulatu vero cupio equidem te minus habere negoti; sed moleste fero, me consulem studium tuum adulescentis perspexisse, te meum, cum
2 id aetatis sim, perspicere non posse. Sed ita, fato nescio quo, contigisse arbitror, ut tibi ad me ornandum semper detur facultas, mihi ad remunerandum nihil suppetat praeter voluntatem. Ornasti consulatum, ornasti reditum meum. Incidit meum tempus rerum gerendarum in ipsum consulatum tuum. Itaque cum et tua summa amplitudo et dignitas, et meus magnus honos magnaque existimatio postulare vi-

sion of time being added to my year's term of office. If you do that, an overwhelming addition will be made to all your previous services to me.

XIII

CICERO TO L. AEMILIUS PAULLUS, CONSUL

Tarsus, January, 50 B.C.

It has been my most earnest desire to be with you 1
in Rome for many reasons, but particularly in order that you might have clear proof both in your candidature and in the administration of your consulship of that devotion which I owed you. And as to your candidature, the result to my mind was always perfectly clear; but all the same I wished to give you my utmost assistance. In your consulship, on the other hand, I am, of course, anxious that you should have less trouble than I, but I am quite distressed that, whereas I, as consul, had clear proof of your devotion when a young man, you can have no clear proof of that on my part, at my time of life.

But I suppose by some mysterious fate it has so 2
happened that, while you are always given the opportunity of enhancing my honour, I have nothing to fall back upon by way of requiting you except the desire to do so. You added distinction to my consulship, you added distinction to my recall. My present period of active service has happened to coincide with the very year of your consulship. And so, although it would seem to be demanded both by your most exalted and eminent position and by my own high office and high reputation that I should earnestly importune

deatur, ut a te plurimis verbis contendam ac petam, ut quam honorificentissimum senatus consultum de meis rebus gestis faciendum cures, non audeo vehementer a te contendere, ne aut ipse tuae perpetuae consuetudinis erga me oblitus esse videar, aut te
3 oblitum putem. Quare, ut te velle arbitror, ita faciam, atque ab eo, quem omnes gentes sciunt de me optime meritum, breviter petam. Si alii consules essent, ad te potissimum, Paulle, mitterem, ut eos mihi quam amicissimos redderes. Nunc, cum tua summa potestas summaque auctoritas, notaque omnibus nostra necessitudo sit, vehementer te rogo, ut et quam honorificentissime cures decernendum de meis rebus gestis, et quam celerrime. Dignas res esse honore et gratulatione, cognosces ex iis litteris, quas ad te et collegam et senatum publice misi; omniumque mearum reliquarum rerum maximeque existimationis meae procurationem susceptam velim habeas. In primisque tibi curae sit, quod abs te superioribus quoque litteris petivi, ne mihi tempus prorogetur. Cupio te consulem videre, omniaque, quae spero, cum absens, tum etiam praesens, te consule assequi. Vale.

you with no economy of words to ensure that the decree of the Senate concerning my achievements should be couched in the most complimentary terms possible, yet I do not venture to lay undue stress upon my petition to you, lest I should either appear to have forgotten your habitual and uninterrupted kindness to me, or to imagine that you have forgotten it.

I shall therefore do as I believe you would have me 3
do, and use but few words in making a request of one who, as all the nations of the world are aware, has deserved extremely well of me. Were there other consuls, you are the first man, Paullus, to whom I should send, requesting you to enlist their warmest friendship on my side. As it is, seeing that you possess the highest power and influence, and that our close connexion is known to all men, I ask you in all earnestness to ensure that the decree concerning my achievements is couched in the most complimentary terms possible, yes, and as speedily as possible too. That those services are deserving of honour and congratulation you will discover from the despatch I sent in my public capacity to yourself and your colleague and the Senate; and I should be glad if you would undertake to look after all my other interests, and most especially my reputation, and particularly to see to it, as I asked you to do in a former letter also, that there is no extension of my term of office.

I am anxious to see you while you are consul, and during your consulship to secure all I hope for, not only here but at home.

XIV

M. T. C. IMP. S. P. D. C. CASSIO PROQUAEST.

Ad aras Alexandri, A.U.C. 703.

1 M. Fadium quod mihi amicum tua commendatione das, nullum in eo facio quaestum. Multi enim anni sunt, cum ille in aere meo est, et a me diligitur propter summam humanitatem et observantiam. Sed tamen, quod ab eo te egregie diligi sensi, multo amicior ei sum factus. Itaque quamquam profecerunt litterae tuae, tamen aliquanto plus commendationis apud me habuit animus ipsius erga te mihi perspectus
2 et cognitus. Sed de Fadio faciemus studiose quae rogas; tu multis de causis vellem me convenire potuisses, primum, ut te, quem iamdiu plurimi facio, tanto intervallo viderem; deinde, ut tibi, quod feci per litteras, possem praesens gratulari; tum, ut, quibus de rebus vellemus, tu tuis, ego meis inter nos communicaremus; postremo, ut amicitia nostra, quae summis officiis ab utroque culta est, sed longis intervallis temporum interruptam consuetudinem habuit,

[a] Cassius had been quaestor to Crassus, after whose death he commanded what remained of the Roman army in Syria as *proquaestor propraetore*. *Proquaestor* was the title of the *quaestor* of the previous year who retained his position between the expiration of his own term of office and the arrival of the new *quaestor*. Again, if the governor left his province, he usually delegated his powers to the *quaestor*, who was then entitled *quaestor* (or as here, *proquaestor*) *propraetore*. He defeated the Parthians under Pacorus before Antioch (ii. 10. 2) this year (51).

[b] M. Fadius Gallus, to whom Cicero addressed *Epp*. 23-26 in Bk. VII.

XIV

CICERO TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS, PROQUAESTOR OF SYRIA [a]

Arae Alexandri, near Issus, between the 14th and 15th of October, 51 B.C.

By your recommendation you present M. Fadius [b] 1
to me as a friend; well, I gain nothing by that. As a matter of fact he has been for many years entirely at my disposal, and I have liked him for his extreme kindness and the respect he shows me. But for all that the discovery that you are extraordinarily fond of him has made me much more of a friend to him. And so, although your letter has had its effect, yet what recommends him a great deal more is that I have come fully to see and understand his kindly feelings for yourself.

But in the matter of Fadius I will do what you ask 2
with hearty goodwill; as for yourself, I only wish for many reasons that you had been able to meet me, in the first place so that I might see you after so long an interval—you whom I have for long past valued so highly; secondly, that I might congratulate you [c] in person as I have done by letter; furthermore, that we might share our views about whatever matters we wished, you about your affairs, I about mine; and lastly, that our friendship which has been fostered on either side by the most notable good services, but has had its continuity broken by long periods of interruption, might be more effectually strengthened.

[c] On his victory over Pacorus (see note *a* above).

3 confirmaretur vehementius. Id quoniam non accidit, utemur bono litterarum, et eadem fere absentes, quae, si coram essemus, consequemur. Unus scilicet ille fructus, qui in te videndo est, percipi litteris non potest. Alter gratulationis, est is quidem exilior, quam si tibi teipsum intuens gratularer ; sed tamen et feci ante, et facio nunc, tibique cum pro rerum magnitudine, quas gessisti, tum pro opportunitate temporis gratulor, quod te de provincia decedentem summa laus et summa gratia provinciae prosecuta
4 est. Tertium est, ut id, quod de nostris rebus coram communicassemus inter nos, conficiamus idem litteris. Ego ceterarum rerum causa tibi Romam properandum magno opere censeo. Nam et ea, quae reliqui, tranquilla de te erant, et hac tua recenti victoria tanta clarum adventum tuum fore intellego. Sed si quae sunt onera tuorum, si tanta sunt, ut ea sustinere possis, propera ; nihil tibi erit lautius, nihil gloriosius ; sin maiora, considera, ne in alienissimum tempus cadat adventus tuus. Huius rei totum consilium tuum est. Tu enim scis, quid sustinere possis. Si potes, laudabile atque populare est. Sin plane non potes,
5 absens hominum sermones facilius sustinebis. De me autem idem tecum his ago litteris, quod superioribus

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[a] See note *a* on *Ep*. 14 above.
[b] Prosecutions of his friends for extortion and other offences, especially of his brother, Q. Cassius, who had been quaestor to Pompey.

Since that has not come to pass, we will avail ourselves of the boon of letters, and so secure almost the same objects in our separation as if we were together. That one preeminent gratification, doubtless, which consists in seeing you, cannot be enjoyed by letter ; the other, which consists in congratulating you, is less satisfying, it is true, than if I were to do so with my eyes upon your face ; still I have done so before, and I do so now, and congratulate you not only on the magnificence of your achievements, but also on their being so opportune in point of time, since on your departure from your province you had the honourable escort of its praise, as unqualified as its gratitude. 3

There is a third course—to carry out by correspondence the consultations we should have held on our respective affairs if we had met. For every other reason also I am emphatically of opinion that you should hasten to Rome. For the situation I left behind me was one of complete calm as regards yourself, and thanks to your recent victory [a] (and a glorious one it was), I can see that your arrival will be a memorable event. But supposing your relatives have any burdens [b] to bear, if they are only such as you can shoulder, hurry home ; it will be the most splendid and glorious thing you can do. But if those burdens are too heavy for you, pause to think, lest your arrival may happen at a most untoward moment. On this point the whole decision lies with you, for you alone know what your shoulders can bear. If you have the strength, it is a praiseworthy and popular thing to do ; if you absolutely lack that strength, you will find it easier to stand people's gossip if you stay away. 4

Now as to myself, I make the same request of you in this letter as I did in a previous one—that you 5

egi, ut omnes tuos nervos in eo contendas, ne quid mihi ad hanc provinciam, quam et senatus et populus annuam esse voluit, temporis prorogetur. Hoc a te ita contendo, ut in eo fortunas meas positas putem. Habes Paullum nostrum nostri cupidissimum; est Curio, est Furnius. Sic velim enitare, quasi in eo
6 sint mihi omnia. Extremum illud est de iis, quae proposueram, confirmatio nostrae amicitiae; de qua pluribus verbis nihil opus est. Tu puer me appetisti; ego autem semper ornamento te mihi fore duxi. Fuisti etiam praesidio tristissimis meis temporibus. Accessit post tuum discessum familiaritas mihi cum Bruto tuo maxima. Itaque in vestro ingenio et industria mihi plurimum et suavitatis et dignitatis constitutum puto. Id tu ut tuo studio confirmes, te vehementer rogo, litterasque ad me et continuo mittas, et, cum Romam veneris, quam saepissime.

XV

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

1 Etsi uterque nostrum, spe pacis et odio civilis sanguinis, abesse a belli pertinacia voluit, tamen, quoniam eius consili princeps ego fuisse videor, plus

[a] Cassius had married Brutus's sister.

should strain every nerve to prevent any prolongation of my term of office as governor of the province—a term which both the Senate and the people decreed should be for one year only. I urge this upon you so strongly that I feel all my prospects depend upon it. You have our friend Paullus on your side, a warm friend of mine, and there is Curio, and Furnius too. I pray you to make every effort just as though all I have were staked upon it.

My last point bears upon what I have already put 6
before you; it is the strengthening of our friendship, as to which there is no need of further words. You, when a boy, sought me out, while I felt that you would always be a source of distinction to me. You were also a protection to me in the days of my deepest gloom. There came too, after your departure, my intimacy with your relative Brutus,[a] and it was of the closest. It is therefore in the ability and energy of you two that I have stored up for myself an unlimited fund of delight and distinction. I ask you in all earnestness to confirm that impression by your devotion to me, and to send me a letter not only immediately, but, on your arrival at Rome, as often as possible.

XV

CICERO TO CASSIUS

Brundisium, latter half of August, 47 B.C.

Although both of us in our hope of peace and loath- 1
ing for civil bloodshed wished to have nothing to do with the obstinate prosecution of war, still, since I seem to have taken the lead in that policy, I am

fortasse tibi praestare ipse debeo, quam a te exspectare. Etsi, ut saepe soleo mecum recordari, sermo familiaris meus tecum, et item mecum tuus, adduxit utrumque nostrum ad id consilium, ut uno proelio putaremus, si non totam causam, at certe nostrum iudicium definiri convenire. Neque quisquam hanc nostram sententiam vere umquam reprehendit, praeter eos, qui arbitrantur melius esse, deleri omnino rempublicam, quam imminutam et debilitatam manere. Ego autem ex interitu eius nullam spem scilicet mihi proponebam, ex reliquiis magnam.

2 Sed ea sunt consecuta, ut magis mirum sit, accidere illa potuisse, quam nos non vidisse ea futura, nec, homines cum essemus, divinare potuisse. Equidem fateor, meam coniecturam hanc fuisse, ut, illo quasi quodam fatali proelio facto, et victores communi saluti consuli vellent, et victi suae ; utrumque autem positum esse arbitrabar in celeritate victoris. Quae si fuisset, eamdem clementiam experta esset Africa, quam cognovit Asia, quam etiam Achaia, te, ut opinor, ipso allegato ac deprecatore. Amissis autem temporibus, quae plurimum valent, praesertim in bellis civilibus, interpositus annus alios induxit, ut victoriam sperarent, alios, ut ipsum vinci contemnerent. Atque horum malorum omnium culpam

[a] The former by offering easy terms, the latter by laying down their arms. Watson. The "great battle" is that of Pharsalia in 48.

[b] This refers to the Pompeian refugees in those countries, many of whom had been forgiven by Caesar.

perhaps more bound to justify it to you, than to expect such justification from you. And yet, as I frequently remind myself, my observations to you and yours to me in our friendly talks led us both to this conclusion—we thought it right and proper that, if not the whole quarrel, at any rate our judgment of it, should be determined by the issue of a single battle. And not a soul has ever rightly found fault with this opinion of ours, except those who think it better that the commonwealth should be utterly destroyed than survive in an impaired and enfeebled condition. I, on the contrary, pictured to myself no hope of course in its destruction, much in any remnants that were left.

But the events which followed were such that it is 2
more of a surprise that they could have happened at all, than that we should not have seen them coming and have failed, being but human, to prognosticate them. For my part I confess that what I conjectured was this—I thought that after the great battle, fraught as it were with the issues of fate, had been fought, the victors would desire measures to be taken in the interests of the community, and the vanquished in their own ;[a] but I held that both the former and the latter depended upon the promptitude with which the victor acted. Had he shown that promptitude, Africa would have experienced the same leniency as was witnessed by Asia, yes, and by Achaia too, you yourself, as I take it, being their emissary and intercessor.[b] But those days of vital importance, especially in civil wars, having been wasted, the year that intervened tempted some to hope for victory, others to think lightly of defeat itself. And the blame for all these evils is on the shoulders of fortune.

fortuna sustinet. Quis enim aut Alexandrini belli tantam moram huic bello adiunctum iri, aut nescio quem istum Pharnacem Asiae terrorem illaturum
3 putaret? Nos tamen, in consilio pari, casu dissimili usi sumus. Tu enim eam partem petisti, ut et consiliis interesses, et, quod maxime curam levat, futura animo prospicere posses. Ego, qui festinavi, ut Caesarem in Italia viderem (sic enim arbitrabamur), eumque multis honestissimis viris conservatis, redeuntem ad pacem currentem, ut aiunt, incitarem, ab illo longissime et absum et abfui. Versor autem in gemitu Italiae, et in Urbis miserrimis querellis, quibus aliquid opis fortasse ego pro mea, tu pro tua, pro sua quisque parte ferre potuisset, si auctor ad-
4 fuisset. Quare velim pro tua perpetua erga me benevolentia scribas ad me, quid videas, quid sentias, quid exspectandum, quid agendum nobis existimes. Magni erunt mihi tuae litterae; atque utinam primis illis, quas Luceria miseras, paruissem! sine ulla enim molestia dignitatem meam retinuissem. Vale.

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[a] This refers to Caesar's long and doubtful struggle, in the autumn of 48, with Arsinoe, younger sister of Ptolemy, who was supported by the people of Alexandria.

[b] Pharnaces, king of Pontus, was defeated by Caesar at Zela in August, 47, when the latter sent his famous despatch "*Veni, vidi, vici.*"

[c] Written probably from the headquarters of Pompey at Luceria in Apulia before he crossed over to Greece, in which Cassius advised Cicero not to leave Italy.

For who would imagine that the war would be protracted or cause so long a delay as that caused by the Alexandrian war,[a] or that this Pharnaces,[b] whoever he may be, would intimidate Asia?

You and I, however, though our policy was identical, 3
have found a difference in our fortunes; for while you took a line which enabled you to share his counsels, and so being able to foresee (and that is a potent alleviation of anxiety) what was going to happen, I, who hastened to meet Caesar in Italy (for that is what I supposed) and "to spur the willing horse," as the adage has it, when, after sparing so many of our most distinguished men, he was actually returning to the ways of peace, I on the contrary, both am and have been kept utterly apart from him. I spend my life, moreover, amid the groans of Italy, and the piteous lamentations of the city; and we might perhaps have done something to alleviate them, I in my way, you in yours, everybody in his own, if only the man in authority had been there.

I should like you, therefore, consistently with your 4
unfailing kindness to me, to write and tell me what your impressions and your feelings are, what you think we should wait for, and what you think we should do. I shall greatly value a letter from you; and how I wish I had followed the advice contained in that first letter[c] you sent me from Luceria! I should then have retained my position without any friction at all. Farewell.

XVI

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Puto te iam suppudere, cum haec tertia iam epistula ante te oppresserit, quam tu scidam aut litteram. Sed non urgeo. Longiores enim exspectabo, vel potius exigam. Ego, si semper haberem, cui darem, vel ternas in hora darem. Fit enim nescio qui, ut quasi coram adesse videare, cum scribo aliquid ad te: neque id κατ' εἰδώλων φαντασίας, ut dicunt tui amici novi, qui putant etiam διανοητικὰς φαντασίας spectris Catianis excitari (nam, ne te fugiat, Catius Insuber, Epicureus, qui nuper est mortuus, quae ille Gargettius, etiam ante Democritus, εἴδωλα, his spec-
2 tra nominat). His autem spectris etiamsi oculi possint feriri, quod vel ipsa occurrunt,[1] animus qui possit, ego non video. Doceas tu me oportebit, cum salvus veneris, in meane potestate sit spectrum tuum, ut, simul ac mihi collibitum sit de te cogitare, illud occurrat; neque solum de te, qui mihi haeres in medullis, sed, si insulam Britanniam coepero cogitare,
3 eius εἴδωλον mihi advolabit ad pectus? Sed haec

[1] quod quae velis ipsa incurrunt *Tyrrell*; nolis velis ("*whether you wish it or not*") ipsa accurrunt *Koch*. *I retain Nobbe's reading.*

[a] Literally "a letter of the alphabet."

[b] The Epicureans, whom Cassius had recently joined.

[c] Epicurus, who belonged to the deme of Gargettus, near Athens.

[d] "The Epicureans accounted for sight by supposing that all bodies were continually giving off films or images (εἴδωλα), which impinged upon the eye, and that produced a "vision" (φαντασία), which in its turn struck the mind, and became a "mental vision" (διανοητικὴ φαντασία).

XVI

CICERO TO CASSIUS

Rome, January, 45 B.C.

I expect you must be just a little ashamed of your- 1
self now that this is the third letter that has caught you before you have sent me a single leaf or even a line.[a] But I am not pressing you, for I shall look forward to, or rather insist upon, a longer letter. As for myself, if I always had somebody to trust with them, I should send you as many as three an hour. For it somehow happens, that whenever I write anything to you, you seem to be at my very elbow; and that, not by way of "*visions of images*," as your new friends[b] term them, who believe that even "*mental visions*" are conjured up by what Catius calls "*spectres*" (for let me remind you that Catius the Insubrian, an Epicurean, who died lately, gives the name of "*spectres*" to what the famous Gargettian,[c] and long before that Democritus, called "*images*").

But, even supposing that the *eye* can be struck by 2
these "*spectres*" because they run up against it quite of their own accord, how the *mind* can be so struck is more than I can see. It will be your duty to explain to me, when you arrive here safe and sound, whether the "*spectre*" of you is at my command to run up against me as soon as the whim has taken me to think about you—and not only about you, who always occupy my inmost heart, but suppose I begin thinking about the Isle of Britain, will the "*image*" of that wing its way to my consciousness?[d]

Cicero cannot understand how this second effect is produced, or why, directly he chooses to think of Cassius, the εἴδωλον should "run up against him."

posterius. Tempto enim te, quo animo accipias. Si enim stomachabere et moleste feres, plura dicemus postulabimusque, ex qua *αἱρέσει vi hominibus armatis* deiectus sis, in eam restituare. In hoc interdicto non solet addi, *in hoc anno*. Quare si iam biennium aut triennium est, cum virtuti nuntium remisisti, delinitus illecebris voluptatis, in integro res nobis erit. Quamquam quicum loquor? cum uno fortissimo viro, qui, posteaquam forum attigisti, nihil fecisti, nisi plenissimum amplissimae dignitatis. In ista ipsa αἱρέσει, metuo, ne plus nervorum sit, quam ego putarim, si modo eam ut probas. Qui id tibi in mentem venit? inquies. Quia nihil habebam aliud, quod scriberem. De republica enim nihil scribere possum: neque enim, quod sentio, libet scribere.

XVII

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Praeposteros habes tabellarios; etsi me quidem non offendunt; sed tamen, cum a me discedunt, flagitant litteras; cum ad me veniunt, nullas afferunt. Atque id ipsum facerent commodius, si mihi aliquid spati ad scribendum darent; sed petasati

[a] "Cicero represents Cassius as having been ousted from the Stoic philosophy by the arms of Caesar, and having embraced the Epicurean tenets of the latter." Tyrrell.
[b] From which the previous words are quoted.
[c] The *summum bonum* of the Epicureans.
[d] Literally "with their travelling caps on."

But of this later on. I am only sounding you now to 3
see in what spirit you take it. For if you are angry and annoyed, I shall have more to say, and shall insist upon your being reinstated in that school of philosophy, out of which you have been ousted "*by violence and an armed force*." [a] In this interdict of the praetor [b] the words "*within this year*" are not usually added; so even if it is now two or three years since, bewitched by the blandishments of Pleasure,[c] you sent a notice of divorce to Virtue, I am free to act as I like. And yet to whom am I talking? To you, the most gallant gentleman in the world, who, ever since you set foot in the forum, have done nothing but what bears every mark of the most impressive distinction. Why, in that very school you have selected I apprehend there is more vitality than I should have supposed, if only because it has your approval. "How did the whole subject occur to you?" you will say. Because I had nothing else to write. About politics I can write nothing, for I do not care to write what I feel.

XVII

CICERO TO CASSIUS

Rome, early in January, 45 B.C.

The letter-carriers you employ are behaving pre- 1
posterously—not that they are lacking in civility to me, but, all the same, when they leave me they importune me for a letter, but when they come to me they bring no letter with them. And even so they would cause me less inconvenience if they would only allow me some reasonable time for writing; but they come ready dressed for travelling,[d]

veniunt; comites ad portam exspectare dicunt. Ergo ignosces; alteras habebis has breves; sed exspecta πάντα περὶ πάντων. Etsi quid ego me tibi purgo, cum tui ad me inanes veniant, ad te cum epistulis
2 revertantur? Nos hic (tamen ad te scribam aliquid) P. Sullam patrem mortuum habebamus. Alii a latronibus, alii cruditate dicebant. Populus non curabat. Combustum enim esse constabat. Hoc tu pro sapientia tua feres aequo animo. Quamquam πρόσωπον πόλεως amisimus. Caesarem putabant moleste laturum, verentem, ne hasta refrixisset. Mindius macellarius[1] et Attius pigmentarius valde gaudebant
3 se adversarium perdidisse. De Hispania novi nihil; sed exspectatio valde magna; rumores tristiores, sed ἀδέσποτοι. Pansa noster paludatus a. d. III. Kalend. Ian. profectus est, ut quivis intellegere posset id, quod tu nuper dubitare coepisti, τὸ καλὸν δι' αὑτὸ αἱρετόν esse. Nam quod multos miseriis levavit, et quod se in his malis hominem praebuit, mirabilis eum virorum
4 bonorum benevolentia prosecuta est. Tu quod adhuc Brundisi moratus es, valde probo et gaudeo; et

[1] *The ingenious conjecture of Weiske and Madvig*: Marcellus *MSS.*, *and it is true that Caesar had a friend named Mindius Marcellus* (*Appian*, B.C. v. 102).

[a] Nephew of the Dictator. He was accused in 62 of being privy to Catiline's conspiracies, but was defended by Cicero and Hortensius and acquitted. He did a large business in buying up the confiscated goods of Caesar's enemies, and Cicero always speaks of him in his letters with contempt. He must, however, have been an officer of some distinction, as he was in joint command with Caesar himself of the right wing at Pharsalia.

[b] Or "that he has passed through the fire," an allusion perhaps to his having been "singed" (*cf. ambustus*) in the law-courts.

and tell me that their mates are waiting for them at the gate. You will therefore forgive me; this is now the second short note you will have, but you may live in hopes of *omnia de omnibus rebus*. And yet why am I excusing myself to you, when your men come to me empty-handed, and return to you with letters?

Here (I'll send you something of a letter after all) 2
we have on our hands the death of P. Sulla senior[a]; some say it was brigands, others indigestion. The people don't care a straw, since there is no doubt as to his cremation.[b] You, with your usual philosophy, will bear this with resignation. And yet we have lost a figure-head in the city. People think that Caesar will be annoyed because he apprehends a "slump" in his sales. Mindius the victualler and Attius the paint-seller are highly delighted at having dropped a rival bidder.[c]

There is no news about Spain, but it is very eagerly 3
awaited. There are rather depressing rumours, but they are unauthenticated. Our friend Pansa set out in military uniform on December the 29th, so that even the man in the street might grasp the fact which you had lately begun to question—that "*the good must be chosen for its own sake.*"[d] For because he relieved many of their afflictions, and because he proved his humanity amid all these disasters, he was escorted on his way by a marvellous manifestation of kindly feeling on the part of honest men. As to your 4
having stayed at Brundisium until now, I strongly approve of it and am glad of it; and, upon my word, I

[c] They also were bidders at the auctions of proscribed goods mentioned in note *a*.

[d] Cassius had lately turned Epicurean (see the preceding letter) and therefore repudiated the Stoic dogma here quoted.

mehercule puto te sapienter facturum, si ἀκενόσπουδος fueris. Nobis quidem, qui te amamus, erit gratum. Et, amabo te, cum dabis posthac aliquid domum litterarum, mei memineris. Ego numquam quemquam ad te, cum sciam, sine meis litteris ire patiar.

XVIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Longior epistula fuisset, nisi eo ipso tempore petita esset a me, cum iam iretur ad te; longior etiam, si φλύαρον aliquem habuisset; nam σπουδάζειν sine periculo vix possumus. Ridere igitur, inquis, possumus. Non mehercule facillime. Verumtamen aliam aberrationem a molestiis nullam habemus. Ubi igitur, inquies, philosophia? Tua quidem iucunda, mea molesta[1] est: pudet enim servire. Itaque facio me
2 alias res agere, ne convicium Platonis audiam. De Hispania nihil adhuc certi, nihil omnino novi. Te abesse, mea causa moleste fero, tua gaudeo. Sed flagitat tabellarius. Valebis igitur, meque, ut a puero fecisti, amabis.

[1] *Tyrrell has* tua quidem in culina, mea molesta est *in his text, rejecting Manutius's* in palaestra *for* molesta; *later on he proposes* iucunda *for* in culina, *which, as making an obscure passage intelligible, I have adopted.*

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[a] Such as attempting to restore the free state. But Cassius was not the man to take Cicero's advice.

[b] Or, as the phrase came to mean, "to be careless and indifferent." Cicero is referring to his teaching rhetoric and declamation to Hirtius and Dolabella, and his other diversions in 46. See the preliminary note to Bk. XIII.

think you will act wisely if you "*shun vain pursuits.*"[a] Certainly to me who love you, it will be a gratification, and for the future when you send home a budget of letters, remember me, and I'll bless you. For my own part I shall never allow anybody, if I know it, to go to you without a letter from me.

XVIII

CICERO TO CASSIUS

Rome, towards the end of 46 B.C.

My letter would have been longer had not I been 1
asked for it at the very moment when a post to you was starting; longer too, had it contained some amount of persiflage; as for speaking seriously, we can hardly do so without risk. "Well then," you say, "we can have a laugh." No, I positively assure you, not very easily. And yet, that is the one and only thing we have to distract us from our troubles. "How about our philosophy then?" you will say. Well, yours is one of pleasure, but mine troubles me, because I am ashamed of being a slave. So I pretend to busy myself with other things,[b] to prevent Plato's emphatic reproach from ringing in my ears.[c]

There is nothing certain so far about Spain, indeed 2
no news at all. Your absence troubles me for my own sake, but I am very glad of it for yours. But there goes your importunate letter-carrier. Fare you well then, and continue to love me as you have from a boy.

[c] Plato, *Rep.* iii. 387 B of false teaching which must not be listened to by boys and men οὓς δεῖ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, δουλείαν θανάτου μᾶλλον πεφοβημένους.

XIX

C. CASSIUS S. P. D. M. T. C.

Brundisi, A.U.C. 709.

1 S.v.b. Non mehercule in hac mea peregrinatione quidquam libentius facio, quam scribo ad te; videor enim cum praesente loqui et iocari. Nec tamen hoc usu venit propter spectra Catiana, pro quo tibi proxima epistula tot rusticos Stoicos regeram, ut
2 Catium Athenis natum esse dicas. Pansam nostrum secunda voluntate hominum paludatum ex Urbe exisse, cum ipsius causa gaudeo, tum mehercule etiam omnium nostrorum. Spero enim homines intellecturos, quanto sit omnibus odio crudelitas, et quanto sit amori probitas et clementia; atque ea, quae maxime mali petant et concupiscant, ad bonos pervenire. Difficile est enim persuadere hominibus, τὸ καλὸν δι' αὑτὸ αἱρετόν esse; ἡδονήν vero et ἀταραξίαν virtute, iustitia, τῷ καλῷ parari, et verum et probabile est. Ipse enim Epicurus, a quo omnes Catii et Amafinii, mali verborum interpretes, profici-

[a] See *Ep.* 16 § 1 above.

[b] *i.e.*, "a man of education and culture," and not such a boor after all as many of *your* Stoic friends, indifferent translator of Greek as he may be (and this Cassius admits at the end of § 2).

Pro quo refers to Cicero's special piece of information in *Ep.* 16. 1, that Catius called εἴδωλα *spectra*. Cassius affects to resent Cicero's sneer, and threatens to overwhelm him with a crowd of *Stoic* boors, which will make Catius, poor Grecian as he is, seem a very angel of light.

[c] See *Ep.* 17. 3. Pansa appears to have made a journey to Caesar in Spain, to which both passages refer. He returned, however, to Rome before he took up the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul in March, 45.

XIX

CASSIUS TO CICERO

Brundisium, latter half of January, 45 B.C.

If you are well, all is right. I assure you that on 1
this tour of mine there is nothing that gives me more pleasure to do than to write to you; for I seem to be talking and joking with you face to face. And yet that does not come to pass because of your "*Catian spectres*"[a]; and, by way of retaliation for *that*, in my next letter I shall let loose upon you such a rabble of Stoic boors that you will proclaim Catius a true-born Athenian.[b]

I am glad that our friend Pansa was sped on his way 2
by universal goodwill when he left the city in military uniform,[c] and that not only on my own account, but also, most assuredly, on that of all our friends. For I hope that men generally will come to understand how much all the world hates cruelty, and how much it loves integrity and clemency, and that the blessings most eagerly sought and coveted by the bad ultimately find their way to the good. For it is hard to convince men that "*the good is to be chosen for its own sake*"; but that "*pleasure*" and "*tranquillity of mind*" is acquired by virtue, justice, and "*the good*," is both true and demonstrable. Why, Epicurus himself, from whom all the Catiuses and Amafiniuses[d] in the world, incompetent translators of terms as they are,

[d] C. Amafinius's books on Epicureanism had a great vogue, though written in an uncouth style.

scuntur, dicit: οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ἄνευ τοῦ καλῶς καὶ
3 δικαίως ζῆν. Itaque et Pansa, qui ἡδονήν sequitur, virtutem retinet, et ii, qui a vobis φιλήδονοι vocantur, sunt φιλόκαλοι καὶ φιλοδίκαιοι, omnesque virtutes et colunt et retinent. Itaque Sulla, cuius iudicium probare debemus, cum dissentire philosophos videret, non quaesiit, quid bonum esset, sed omnia bona coëmit; cuius ego mortem forti mehercules animo tuli. Nec tamen Caesar diutius nos eum desiderare patietur. Nam habet damnatos, quos pro illo nobis restituat, nec ipse sectorem desiderabit, cum filium
4 viderit. Nunc, ut ad rempublicam redeam, quid in Hispaniis geratur, rescribe. Peream, nisi sollicitus sum, ac malo veterem et clementem dominum habere, quam novum et crudelem experiri. Scis, Gnaeus quam sit fatuus; scis, quomodo crudelitatem virtutem putet; scis, quam se semper a nobis derisum putet. Vereor, ne nos rustice gladio velit ἀντιμυκτηρίσαι. Quid fiat, si me diligis, rescribe. Hui, quam velim scire, utrum ista sollicito animo an soluto legas! sciam enim eodem tempore, quid me facere oporteat. Ne longior sim, vale; me, ut facis, ama. Si Caesar vicit, celeriter me exspecta.

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[a] See note *a* on *Ep.* 17. 2 above.
[b] Pompey's son.

derive their origin, lays it down that "*to live a life of pleasure is impossible without living a life of virtue and justice.*"

Consequently Pansa, who follows "*pleasure*," keeps 3
his hold on virtue, and those also whom you call "*pleasure-lovers*" are "*lovers of what is good*" and "*lovers of justice*," and cultivate and keep all the virtues. And so Sulla, whose judgment we ought to accept, when he saw that the philosophers were at sixes and sevens, did not investigate the nature of "*the good*," but bought up all the *goods* there were;[a] and I frankly confess that I bore his death without flinching. Caesar, however, will not let us feel his loss too long; for he has a lot of condemned men to restore to us in his stead, nor will he himself feel the lack of someone to bid at his auctions when once he has cast his eye on Sulla junior.

And now to return to politics; please write back and 4
tell me what is being done in the two Spains. May I die if I am not full of anxiety, and I would sooner have the old and lenient master, than make trial of a new and cruel one. You know what an idiot Gnaeus[b] is; you know how he deems cruelty a virtue; you know how he thinks that we have always scoffed at him. I fear that in his boorish way he will be inclined to reply by wiping our turned-up noses with the sword. Write back as you love me, and tell me what is doing. Ah! how I should like to know whether you read all this with an anxious mind or a mind at ease! For I should know at the same time what it is my duty to do. Not to be too long-winded, I bid you farewell. Continue to love me as you do. If Caesar has conquered, look out for my speedy arrival.

XX

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. TREBONIO

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 *Oratorem* meum (sic enim inscripsi) Sabino tuo commendavi. Natio me hominis impulit, ut ei recte putarem; nisi forte, candidatorum licentia hic quoque usus, hoc subito cognomen arripuit; etsi modestus eius vultus sermoque constans habere quiddam a
2 Curibus videbatur. Sed de Sabino satis. Tu, mi Treboni, quando ad amorem meum aliquantum olei[1] discedens addidisti, quo tolerabilius feramus igniculum desideri tui, crebris nos litteris appellato; atque ita, si idem fiet a nobis. Quamquam duae causae sunt, cur tu frequentior in isto officio esse debeas, quam nos; primum, quod olim solebant, qui Romae erant, ad provinciales amicos de republica scribere; nunc tu nobis scribas oportet. Res enim publica istic est. Deinde, quod nos aliis officiis tibi absenti satisfacere possumus, tu nobis, nisi litteris, non video,
3 qua re alia satisfacere possis. Sed cetera scribes ad nos postea. Nunc haec primo cupio cognoscere, iter

[1] *Krauss and Koch*: olim MSS.

[a] C. Trebonius, who in 55 proposed the law giving to Pompey the government of Spain, and to Crassus that of Syria, for five years.

[b] It appears that Ventidius Bassus (see note on x. 18. 3) was about this time canvassing for the quaestorship, and falsely assumed the name of Sabinus, and it is to this that Cicero here refers.

[c] An ancient town of the Sabines, the birthplace of T. Tatius and Numa Pompilius (Livy, i. 13).

XX

CICERO SENDS WARM GREETINGS TO TREBONIUS[a]

Rome, January (?), 45 B.C.

I have entrusted my *Orator* (for I have so entitled it) to your servant Sabinus. Considering the man's nationality, I could not help thinking that I was right in doing so; unless, of course, he too has availed himself of the licence given to candidates, and suddenly seized upon this particular surname[b]; and yet his modest expression of face and the calmness of his speech seems to have something derived from Cures[c] in it. But enough about Sabinus. 1

You, however, my dear Trebonius, since your departure added no little fuel to the fire of my affection for you, to enable me the more easily to endure the intense ardency of my longing for you, be sure you ply me with a rapid succession of letters, on the understanding that I shall do likewise. And yet there are two reasons why you should perform that duty with more regularity than I—firstly because in olden days it was the custom for those who were at Rome to write about the Republic to their friends in the provinces; now it is for you to write to us, for the Republic is where you are.[d] Secondly, because while I can do you many other services in your absence, I fail to see how you can serve me in any other way than by writing letters. 2

But on all other matters you will write to me later. 3
Just now what I am anxious to know before anything

[d] In the person of Caesar, now in Spain. This establishes the date of this letter.

tuum cuiusmodi sit; ubi Brutum nostrum videris; quamdiu simul fueris; deinde, cum processeris longius, de bellicis rebus, de toto negotio, ut existimare possimus, quo statu simus. Ego tantum me scire putabo, quantum ex tuis litteris habebo cognitum. Cura ut valeas, meque ames amore illo tuo singulari.

XXI

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. TREBONIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Et epistulam tuam legi libenter, et librum libentissime; sed tamen in ea voluptate hunc accepi dolorem, quod, cum incendisses cupiditatem meam consuetudinis nostrae augendae (nam ad amorem quidem nihil poterat accedere), tum discedis a nobis, meque tanto desiderio afficis, ut unam mihi consolationem relinquas, fore ut utriusque nostrum absentis desiderium crebris et longis epistulis leniatur. Quod ego non modo de me tibi spondere possum, sed de te etiam mihi. Nullam enim apud me reliquisti
2 dubitationem, quantum me amares. Nam, ut illa omittam, quae civitate teste fecisti, cum mecum inimicitias communicasti, cum me contionibus tuis defendisti, cum quaestor in mea atque in publica

[a] This probably refers to his meeting with Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul in 46.

[b] A collection Trebonius had made and sent to Cicero of "Ciceroniana," which elicited this letter of thanks.

[c] "Trebonius, as quaestor in 60, had vigorously supported the consuls, Afranius and Metellus Celer, in opposing the tribune, C. Herennius, who brought forward a law in favour of the transference of Clodius to the plebeians. Who Trebonius's colleague was is not certainly known." Tyrrell.

else is what sort of a journey you are having; where it was you saw our friend Brutus,[a] and how long you were with him; after that, when you have got further on your journey, write about military affairs, and indeed about the whole business, so that we can have some idea as to where we stand. I shall regard my knowledge of affairs as being in exact proportion to the information I have got from your letters.

Take care of your health, and continue to love me, as you do, with a love beyond compare.

XXI

CICERO TO TREBONIUS

Rome, towards the end of 46 B.C.

I read your letter with pleasure, and your book[b] 1
with extreme pleasure; and yet amid all that pleasure it caused me a pang of sorrow, that when you had intensified my desire to tighten the bonds of our intimacy—to our affection, of course, no addition was possible—at that very moment you depart from me and plunge me into so deep a regret as to leave me but one single consolation—the thought that our yearning for one another in our separation may be assuaged by long and frequent letters. And that I can guarantee not only as from me to you, but also as from you to me. For you have left no shadow of doubt in my mind as to your affection for me.

For to omit what the whole state can testify to your 2
having done, when you shared my enmities with me, when you defended me in your public addresses, when as quaestor,[c] in my own, as well as the public interests,

causa consulum partes suscepisti, cum tribuno plebis quaestor non paruisti, cui tuus praesertim collega pareret; ut haec recentia, quae meminero semper, obliviscar, quae tua sollicitudo de me in armis, quae laetitia in reditu, quae cura, qui dolor, cum ad te curae et dolores mei perferrentur! Brundisium denique te ad me venturum fuisse, nisi subito in Hispaniam missus esses; ut haec igitur omittam, quae mihi tanti aestimanda sunt, quanti vitam aestimo et salutem meam, liber iste, quem mihi misisti, quantam habet declarationem amoris tui! primum, quod tibi facetum videtur, quidquid ego dixi, quod aliis fortasse non item; deinde, quod illa, sive faceta sunt sive secus,[1] fiunt, narrante te, venustissima. Quin etiam ante, quam ad me veniatur, risus omnis paene con-

3 sumitur. Quod si in iis scribendis nihil aliud, nisi, quod necesse fuit, de uno me tamdiu cogitavisses, ferreus essem, si te non amarem. Cum vero ea, quae scriptura persecutus es, sine summo amore cogitare non potueris, non possum existimare, plus quemquam a se ipso, quam me a te amari. Cui quidem ego amori utinam ceteris rebus possem! amore certe respondebo; quo tamen ipso tibi confido futurum satis.

4 Nunc ad epistulam venio, cui copiose et suaviter scriptae nihil est quod multa respondeam. Primum

[1] *Corradus, for* sic (" *so, so* ") *in the MSS.*

you sided with the consuls, when as quaestor again you refused to obey the tribune of the plebs, especially when your own colleague obeyed him—to forget all these more recent services (which I shall ever remember), what solicitude you showed for me in the war, what ecstasy in my recall, what anxiety, what grief, when my own anxieties and griefs reached your ears!—and finally the fact that you would have come to me in Brundisium, had you not been suddenly sent to Spain;—to omit all those services then, which I am bound to value as highly as I value my own life and welfare, here is this book you have sent me; what a revelation it is of your affection for me! First, because whatever I have said seems brilliant to you (not so perhaps to anybody else), and secondly, because those *mots* of mine, be they brilliant or be they not, become perfectly beautiful when you are the teller. Why, even before my name is reached, people have hardly a laugh left in them.

But if this compilation proves (and it must have 3 been so) that you had been thinking of nothing else but of me, and me alone, for so long, I should indeed have a heart of stone if I did not love you. Seeing, however, that unless your affection sprang from the heart you could never have thought out what you have elaborated in writing, I cannot conceive anybody's loving himself more than you love me. And would that I could reciprocate that love in every other direction! At any rate, as far as my love goes, I shall do so; and after all I am confident that you will find that enough of itself.

And now I come to your letter, in which you express 4 yourself with exuberance and charm; but there is no reason why I should write much in reply. In the first

enim ego illas Calvo litteras misi, non plus, quam has, quas nunc legis, existimans exituras. Aliter enim scribimus, quod eos solos, quibus mittimus, aliter, quod multos lecturos putamus. Deinde ingenium eius melioribus extuli laudibus, quam tu id vere potuisse fieri putas. Primum, quod ita iudicabam; acute movebatur; genus quoddam sequebatur; in quo iudicio lapsus, quo valebat, tamen assequebatur, quod probaret. Multae erant et reconditae litterae; vis non erat. Ad eam igitur adhortabar. In excitando autem et in acuendo plurimum valet, si laudes eum, quem cohortere. Habes de Calvo iudicium et consilium meum—consilium, quod hortandi causa laudavi; iudicium, quod de ingenio eius valde existimavi
5 bene. Reliquum est, ut tuam profectionem amore prosequar, reditum spe exspectem, absentem memoria colam, omne desiderium litteris mittendis accipiendisque leniam. Tu velim tua in me studia et officia multum tecum recordere, quae cum tibi liceat, mihi nefas sit oblivisci, non modo virum bonum me existimabis, verum etiam te a me amari plurimum iudicabis. Vale.

[a] C. Licinius Macer Calvus, a distinguished orator and poet. His most famous case was that against Vatinius, when the latter was defended by Cicero in 54. Calvus was then only 27 years of age. His poems were classed by the ancients with those of Catullus. He was so short in stature that Catullus (liii. 5) says he heard him called *Salaputium disertum*, "the eloquent Tom Thumb." Calvus himself had no high opinion of Cicero, whom he thought *solutus et enervis*, "sloppy and flabby," just as Cicero says of him here that "he lacked force."

[b] I have adopted Dr. J. S. Reid's admirable rendering of *acute movebatur*.

place, when I sent that letter to Calvus,[a] I had no idea that it would get abroad any more than the one you are now reading. You see, I have one way of writing what I think will be read by those only to whom I address my letter, and another way of writing what I think will be read by many. In the next place I eulogized his genius in terms of higher praise than you think could have been done with truth. To begin with, it was because I really thought so; he was a man of keen mental activity[b]; he pursued a certain definite style, and although in that he committed an error of judgment—and yet judgment was his strong point—he none the less did capture the style of his choice. He was a man of wide and abstruse reading, but he lacked force. That is therefore what I pressed him to acquire. Now in rousing and stimulating a man's energies there is nothing more efficacious than to praise him while you urge him on. So there you have my judgment of Calvus, and my object in expressing it—my object was that I praised him with a view to encouraging him; my judgment, that I had an exceedingly high opinion of his natural abilities.

It only remains for me to speed your departure 5
with my love, to look forward to your return with hope, to cherish your memory in your absence, and to alleviate our mutual yearnings as long as they last by the interchange of letters. On your part I should like you constantly to call to mind your acts of devotion and service to me; and though it is open to you (it would be a crime in me) to forget them, you will have reason not only to regard me as an honest man, but also to conclude that my affection for you is of the strongest.

M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM AD FAMILIARES

LIBER DECIMUS SEXTUS

I

M. T. C. ET CICERO MEUS ET FR. ET FRATRIS FIL. S. P. D. TIRONI

Inter Patras et Alyziam, A.U.C. 704.

1 Paullo facilius putavi posse me ferre desiderium tui, sed plane non fero; et quamquam magni ad honorem nostrum interest, quam primum ad Urbem me venire, tamen peccasse mihi videor, qui a te discesserim; sed quia tua voluntas ea videbatur esse, ut prorsus, nisi confirmato corpore, nolles navigare, approbavi tuum consilium, neque nunc muto, si tu in eadem es sententia. Sin autem postea quam cibum cepisti, videris tibi posse me consequi, tuum consilium est. Marionem ad te eo misi, ut aut tecum ad me

[a] Marcus Tullius Tiro was a slave of Cicero, manumitted by him in 54 or 53. He was a man of amiable disposition and of more than ordinary intellectual ability, and was much beloved by his patron. He was Cicero's amanuensis and literary assistant, and was himself an author of some reputation, among his works being a defensive biography of his patron, a treatise on grammar, and some poetry (xvi. 18. 3). Tiro was the chief agent in compiling and arranging Cicero's work, and in preserving his correspondence. After Cicero's death he bought a farm near Puteoli, where, in spite of his weak health, he reached the age of 100.

CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

BOOK XVI

I

CICERO TO TIRO[a]

Between Patrae and Alyzia, November 3, 50 B.C.

I, Tullius, my son Cicero, and my brother and his son, send warmest greetings to Tiro.

I imagined I could bear the loss of your company somewhat easily, but I simply cannot bear it; and although it is highly important in view of my triumph that I should reach the City as soon as possible, still I think it was a mistake on my part to have left your side; and as you seemed to be absolutely unwilling to take ship except when you had recovered your strength, I approved your decision, and I am not now changing my mind, if you are still of the same opinion. If however, after you have taken nourishment, you think you can catch me up, well, that is for you to decide. My object in sending Mario[b] to you was in order that he might join me as soon as possible and 1

[b] A slave of Cicero. *Cf. Ep.* 3. 2.

quam primum veniret, aut, si tu morarere, statim ad
2 me rediret. Tu autem hoc tibi persuade, si commodo valetudinis tuae fieri possit, nihil me malle, quam te esse mecum; si autem intelleges opus esse te Patris convalescendi causa paullum commorari, nihil me malle, quam te valere. Si statim navigas, nos Leucade consequere; sin te confirmare vis, et comites et tempestates et navem idoneam ut habeas, diligenter videbis. Unum illud, mi Tiro, videto, si me amas, ne te Marionis adventus et hae litterae moveant. Quod valetudini tuae maxime conducet, si feceris, maxime obtemperaris voluntati meae. Haec pro tuo ingenio considera. Nos ita te desideramus, ut amemus; amor, ut valentem videamus, hortatur, desiderium, ut quam primum. Illud igitur potius. Cura ergo potissimum, ut valeas; de tuis innumerabilibus in me officiis erit hoc gratissimum. III. Nonas Novembres.

II

TULLIUS S. P. D. TIRONI SUO

Alyziae, A.U.C. 704.

Non queo ad te nec lubet scribere, quo animo sim affectus; tantum scribo, et tibi et mihi maximae voluptati fore, si te firmum quam primum videro.

[a] A town on the coast of Acarnania, midway between Astacus and Anactorium.

bring you with him, or else, if you made any stay, that that he might immediately return to me.

You must, however, convince yourself of this, that if 2
it can be managed without detriment to your health, nothing would please me more than to have you with me; if, on the other hand, you feel sure that a short stay at Patrae is essential to your convalescence, that nothing would please me more than to have you well. If you take ship at once, you will catch me up at Leucas; but if you desire to establish your health, you must see to it very carefully that you get the fellow-passengers, the weather, and the ship that exactly suit you. Be particularly mindful, my dear Tiro, as you love me, not to let Mario's arrival, and this letter, influence your plans. If you do what is most conducive to your health, you will best obey my wishes. Think it over, and use your own judgment. For myself, I long for your presence, but it is as one who loves you; love urges "Let me see you in good health"; longing "Let it be with all speed." The former consideration then should come first. Above everything, therefore, take care of your health; of all your countless kindnesses to me this will be the most gratifying. Nov. 3rd.

II

CICERO TO TIRO

Alyzia,[a] November 5, 50 B.C.

I have neither the power nor the inclination to write and tell you what my feelings are; I only tell you that the greatest pleasure either you or I can enjoy will be my seeing you in robust health as soon as may be.

Tertio die abs te ad Alyziam accesseramus. Is locus est citra Leucadem stadia cxx. Leucade aut te ipsum, aut tuas litteras a Marione putabam me accepturum. Quantum me diligis, tantum fac ut valeas, vel quantum te a me scis diligi. Nonis Novembr. Alyzia.

III

TULLIUS ET CICERO TIRONI SUO S. D. ET Q. PATER ET Q. FILIUS

Alyziae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Nos apud Alyziam, ex quo loco tibi litteras ante dederamus, unum diem commorati sumus, quod Quintus nos consecutus non erat. Is dies fuit Nonae Novembr. Inde ante lucem proficiscentes, ante diem VIII. Idus Novembr. has litteras dedimus. Tu, si nos omnes amas et praecipue me, magistrum tuum, con-
2 firma te. Ego valde suspenso animo exspecto, primum te scilicet, deinde Marionem cum tuis litteris. Omnes cupimus, ego in primis, quam primum te videre, sed, mi Tiro, valentem. Quare nihil properaris; satis, quo te die videro, si valebis. Utilitatibus tuis possum carere; te valere, tua causa primum volo, tum mea, mi Tiro. Vale.

We arrived at Alyzia on the third day after leaving you. The place is 120 stades on your side of Leucas. At Leucas I am expecting either to welcome yourself in person, or to receive a letter from you, brought by Mario. Let your eagerness to be well be as great as your affection for me, or (if you prefer it) as great as you know my affection for you to be. Alyzia, November 5.

III

CICERO TO TIRO

Alyzia, November 6, 50 B.C.

I, Tullius, and Cicero, and Quintus, father and son, send greetings to our Tiro.

We stayed at Alyzia—that is the place from which 1
I despatched a letter to you—for one day, because Quintus had not caught us up. That was November 5. We are despatching this letter just as we are setting out from here before dawn on November 6. As you love us all, and especially myself, who taught you, get strong again.

I am looking forward with the greatest anxiety, 2
first of all, of course, to seeing you, and in the next place to seeing Mario with a letter from you. We all desire to see you, I in particular, as soon as possible, but only, my dear Tiro, if you are well. So do not hurry at all; it will be enough, if on the day I see you, you are well. I can dispense with the advantage of your services; I want you to be well, my dear Tiro, first for your own sake, and then for mine. Farewell.

IV

TULLIUS ET CICERO ET Q. FR. ET Q. FIL. S. P. D. TIRONI S.

Leucade, A.U.C. 704.

1 Varie sum affectus tuis litteris; valde priore pagina perturbatus, paullum altera recreatus. Quare nunc quidem non dubito, quin, quoad plane valeas, te neque navigationi neque viae committas. Satis te mature videro, si plane confirmatum videro. De medico et tu bene existimari scribis, et ego sic audio. Sed plane curationes eius non probo. Ius enim dandum tibi non fuit, cum κακοστόμαχος esses; sed tamen et ad illum scripsi accurate, et ad Lysonem.
2 Ad Curium vero, suavissimum hominem et summi offici summaeque humanitatis, multa scripsi; in his etiam, ut, si tibi videretur, te ad se transferret. Lyso enim noster, vereor, ne neglegentior sit; primum, quia omnes Graeci; deinde, quod, cum a me litteras accepisset, mihi nullas remisit. Sed eum tu laudas. Tu igitur, quid faciendum sit, iudicabis. Illud, mi Tiro, te rogo, sumptu ne parcas ulla in re, quod ad valetudinem opus sit. Scripsi ad Curium, quod

[a] His name was Asclapo (xiii. 20).
[b] The hotel proprietor at Patrae. See note *a* on xiii. 19. 1.
[c] Manius Curius, a money-lender at Patrae. See xiii. 17. 1.

IV

CICERO TO TIRO

Leucas, November 7, 50 B.C.

I, Tullius, and Cicero, and my brother Quintus and his son, send warmest greetings to their dear Tiro.

I was variously affected by your letter, being 1 seriously disturbed by the first page, but a little reassured by the second. I am now therefore in no doubt whatever that, until you are perfectly well, you should not trust yourself to any journeyings by sea or land. I shall see you quite soon enough, when I see you in robust health. About your doctor,[a] you yourself write that he is well thought of, and I am told so myself. But as for his treatment of you, I am not at all satisfied with it. For instance, you should never have been given soup, when your stomach was out of order; anyhow, I have written to him with particular care, and also to Lyso.[b]

To Curius [c] however, that most charming, most 2 obliging and most courteous of men, I have written at great length; among other things too, that if it be your pleasure, he should take you over into his house. For I am afraid our friend Lyso is a bit casual, first, because all Greeks are so, and secondly, because when he had had a letter from me, he sent me no letter in reply. But you speak highly of him; so you are the best judge as to what should be done. This one thing, my dear Tiro, I beg of you to do—spare no expense in any respect, if it be necessary for your health. I have written to Curius to advance you

dixisses, daret. Medico ipsi puto aliquid dandum
3 esse, quo sit studiosior. Innumerabilia tua sunt in me officia, domestica, forensia, urbana, provincialia; in re privata, in publica, in studiis, in litteris nostris. Omnia viceris, si, ut spero, te validum videro. Ego puto, te bellissime, si recte erit, cum quaestore Mescinio decursurum. Non inhumanus est, teque, ut mihi visus est, diligit. Et cum valetudini tuae diligentissime consulueris, tum, mi Tiro, consulito navigationi. Nulla in re iam te festinare volo. Nihil laboro,
4 nisi ut salvus sis. Sic habeto, mi Tiro, neminem esse, qui me amet, quin idem te amet; et cum tua et mea maxime interest te valere, tum multis est curae. Adhuc, dum mihi nullo loco deesse vis, numquam te confirmare potuisti. Nunc te nihil impedit. Omnia depone; corpori servi. Quantam diligentiam in valetudinem tuam contuleris, tanti me fieri a te iudicabo. Vale, mi Tiro, vale, vale, et salve. Lepta tibi salutem dicit et omnes. Vale. VII. Idus Novembr. Leucade.

[a] Mescinius Rufus, Cicero's quaestor in Cilicia, to whom are addressed v. 19 and 20. Cicero had no high opinion of him as quaestor, but wrote of him in complimentary terms in xiii. 26.

[b] Cicero's *praefectus fabrum*. See iii. 7. 4.

whatever sum you should name. I think something should be given to the doctor himself, to quicken his interest in you.

Your services to me are past all reckoning—at 3
home, in the forum, in the City, in my province, in private as in public affairs, in my literary pursuits and performances. You will surpass them all, if I only see you, as I hope to do, in good health. If all goes well, I think you will have a perfectly charming voyage home with the quaestor Mescinius.[a] He is no churl, and he has always seemed to me to be fond of you. And when you have given the most careful consideration to your health, consider how you may best undertake a voyage. In no respect whatever would I now have you hurry yourself. My one anxiety is for your safety.

Take it as a fact, my dear Tiro, that there is nobody 4
who loves me, who does not also love you; and while your health is of the highest importance to you and me, it is a matter of solicitude to many. So far, in your desire never to fail me anywhere, you have never been able to recover your strength. Now there is nothing to hinder you. Put everything aside; be the slave of your body. I shall measure your esteem for me by the amount of care you bestow upon your health. Good-bye, my dear Tiro, good-bye, good-bye, and good health to you! Lepta[b] sends you his best wishes, and so do all of us. Good-bye! Leucas, November 7.

V

TULLIUS ET CICERO ET Q. Q. S. P. D. TIRONI HUMANISS. ET OPT.

Leucade, A.U.C. 704.

1 Vide, quanta sit in te suavitas. Duas horas Thyrrei fuimus. Xenomenes hospes tam te diligit, quam si vixerit tecum. Is omnia pollicitus est, quae tibi essent opus. Facturum puto. Mihi placebat, si firmior esses, ut te Leucadem deportaret, ut ibi te plane confirmares. Videbis, quid Curio, quid Lysoni, quid medico placeat. Volebam ad te Marionem remittere: quem, cum meliuscule tibi esset, ad me mitteres; sed cogitavi, unas litteras Marionem afferre
2 posse, me autem crebras exspectare. Poteris igitur, et facies, si me diligis, ut quotidie sit Acastus in portu. Multi erunt, quibus recte litteras dare possis, qui ad me libenter perferant. Equidem Patras euntem neminem praetermittam. Ego omnem spem tui diligenter curandi in Curio habeo. Nihil potest illo fieri humanius, nihil nostri amantius. Ei te totum trade. Malo te paullo post valentem, quam statim imbecillum videre. Cura igitur nihil aliud, nisi ut tu

[a] In Acarnania, a little south of the Ambracian Gulf.

V

CICERO TO TIRO

Off Leucas, November 7, 50 B.C.

Tullius, and Cicero, and the two Quinti, send warmest greetings to that most kindly and best of men, Tiro.

See what an attractive person you are! We have 1
been two hours at Thyrreum.[a] Xenomenes, my host, is as fond of you as if he had been your life-companion. He has promised to do everything that you require, and I think he will do so. My view was that, should you now be stronger, he should land you in Leucas, so that you might get perfectly well there. You will see what are the views of Curius, of Lyso, and of your doctor. I wanted to send Mario back to you, so that when things are a little better with you, you should send him to me; but I reflected that Mario could bring me but a single letter, while I was looking forward to a budget.

You can therefore, and, if you love me, you 2
will arrange to have Acastus in attendance at the harbour every day. There will be many to whom you can properly entrust a letter, and who would deliver it to me with pleasure. For my own part I shall not pass over anybody who is going to Patrae. I put all my hopes of your being properly attended to in Curius. Nothing can be kinder or more devoted to me than he is. Put yourself entirely in his hands. I had rather see you well a little later on, than poorly in the immediate present. Let your health be your only care:

valeas; cetera ego curabo. Etiam atque etiam vale. Leucade proficiscens, VII. Idus Novembr.

VI

M. TULLIUS CIC. PATER ET FIL. ET Q. Q. S. P. D. TIRONI

Acti, A.U.C. 704.

1 Tertiam ad te hanc epistulam scripsi eodem die, magis instituti mei tenendi causa, quia nactus eram, cui darem, quam, quo haberem, quod scriberem. Igitur illa; quantum me diligis, tantum adhibe in te diligentiae. Ad tua innumerabilia in me officia adde hoc, quod mihi erit gratissimum omnium. Cum valetudinis rationem, ut spero, habueris, habeto etiam
2 navigationis. In Italiam euntibus omnibus ad me litteras dabis, ut ego euntem Patras neminem praetermitto. Cura, cura te, mi Tiro; quando non contigit, ut simul navigares, nihil est, quod festines, nec quidquam cures, nisi ut valeas. Etiam atque etiam vale. VII. Idus Novembr. Actio, vesperi.

leave everything else to my care. Good-bye again and again. Just setting out from Leucas. Nov. 7th.

VI

CICERO TO TIRO

Actium, November 7 (evening), 50 B.C.

I Tullius and Cicero, and the two Quinti, send warmest greetings to Tiro.

This is the third letter I have written to you on 1
the same day, more for the sake of keeping to my established practice (having found a man to whom I may entrust it), than because I have anything to write. So I only say this: show as much regard for yourself as is your regard for me. Add this to your countless kindnesses to me, and it will be the most acceptable of them all; when you have given full consideration to your health, as I hope you will, then give consideration to your voyage also.

Please give letters to me to all who are on their 2
way to Italy; I never pass over anybody who is on his way to Patrae. Take care, take care of yourself, my dear Tiro. Since you were not fortunate enough to sail in my company, there is no reason why you should hurry, no reason why you should take thought for anything but your health. Again and again, good-bye! Actium, November 7th, in the evening.

VII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI

Corcyrae, A.U.C. 704.

Septimum iam diem Corcyrae tenebamur; Quintus autem pater et filius Buthroti. Solliciti eramus de tua valetudine mirum in modum; nec mirabamur, nihil a te litterarum. Iis enim ventis istinc navigatur, qui si essent, nos Corcyrae non sederemus. Cura igitur te et confirma et, cum commode et per valetudinem et per anni tempus navigare poteris, ad nos, amantissimos tui, veni. Nemo nos amat, qui te non diligat; carus omnibus exspectatusque venies. Cura, ut valeas. Etiam atque etiam, Tiro noster, vale. xv. Kalend. Decembr. Corcyra.

VIII

Q. C. TIRONI S.

Formiis, A.U.C. 705.

1 Magnae nobis est sollicitudini valetudo tua. Nam, tametsi qui veniunt, ἀκίνδυνα μέν, χρονιώτερα δέ nuntiant, tamen in magna consolatione ingens inest sollicitudo, si diutius a nobis afuturus est is, cuius usum et suavitatem desiderando sentimus. Ac tamen

[a] The south-east wind, which would facilitate a crossing from Corcyra to Italy, would also bring a letter from Patrae.

VII

CICERO TO TIRO

Corcyra, November 16, 50 B.C.

This is the seventh day I have been held up at Corcyra, but Quintus (father and son) at Buthrotum. It would surprise you how anxious I am about your health; but I am not surprised that there is nothing in the way of a letter from you, for ships sail from where you are when they have just such winds as, if they blew now, would not necessitate our lingering at Corcyra.[a] Take care of yourself then, and get strong, and when your health and the season of the year enable you to sail in comfort, come to us, the best friends you have. Nobody loves me who is not fond of you. Dear as you are to us all, your arrival is eagerly awaited. Take care of your health. Again and again, Tiro mine, good-bye.

Corcyra, November 16th.

VIII

QUINTUS CICERO TO TIRO

Formiae, February 2 (?), 49 B.C.

Your health is causing us great anxiety. For 1
although those who come from you report that your illness is not dangerous but will last some time, yet, great as that consolation may be, it is marred by an overwhelming anxiety, if we are to be separated for too long a time from one whose usefulness and charm we appreciate the better for missing them. And yet, although my every thought

quamquam videre te tota cogitatione cupio, tamen te penitus rogo, ne te tam longae navigationi et viae per hiemem, nisi bene firmum, committas; neve naviges,
2 nisi explorate. Vix in ipsis tectis et oppidis frigus infirma valetudine vitatur, nedum in mari et via sit facile abesse ab iniuria temporis.

Ψῦχος δὲ λεπτῷ χρωτὶ πολεμιώτατον,

inquit Euripides. Cui tu quantum credas, nescio. Ego certe singulos eius versus singula testimonia puto. Effice, si me diligis, ut valeas, et ut ad nos firmus ac valens quam primum venias. Ama nos, et vale. Q. F. tibi salutem dicit.

IX

M. T. ET C. ET Q. S. P. D. TIRONI

Brundisi, A.U.C. 704.

1 Nos a te, ut scis, discessimus a. d. IV. Non. Novembr.; Leucadem venimus a. d. VIII. Idus Novembr.; a. d. VII. Actium; ibi propter tempestatem a. d. VI. Idus morati sumus. Inde a. d. quintum Idus Corcyram bellissime navigavimus. Corcyrae fuimus usque a. d. XVI. Kalend. Decembr., tempestatibus retenti. A. d. XV. Kalend. Decembr. in portum Corcyraeorum ad Cassiopen stadia CXX processimus. Ibi retenti ventis sumus usque a. d. IX. Kalendas. Interea, qui

[a] This quotation cannot be traced.
[b] A town in the north of Corcyra.

is a desire to see you, I beg you from my heart not to entrust yourself to so long a journey by sea and land unless you are quite strong, and not to sail at all without carefully weighing the chances.

Even in houses and towns it is difficult to avoid 2
the cold when one is in poor health; far less easy is it to escape the cruelty of the winter weather when travelling by sea or land. And "*Cold is the tender skin's most bitter foe*," as Euripides[a] says. How much *you* believe in him I don't know. I, at any rate, regard all his lines, one after the other, as so many declarations on oath. As you love me, make sure of your health, and of joining us as soon as possible, strong and well. Continue to love us, and good-bye. My son Quintus sends you his greeting.

IX

CICERO TO TIRO

Brundisium, November 26, 50 B.C.

I Tullius and Cicero and Quintus send warmest greetings to Tiro.

We left, as you are aware, on November 2nd. We 1
arrived at Leucas on November 6th, at Actium on the 7th. There, on account of the weather, we stayed during the 8th. From there we had a particularly nice passage on the 9th to Corcyra. We were at Corcyra until November 15th, being held up by storms. On November 16th we proceeded 120 stades to Cassiope,[b] a harbour of the Corcyreans. There we were held up by contrary winds right up to the 22nd. Meanwhile those who impatiently put to sea, and many did so, were shipwrecked.

2 cupide profecti sunt, multi naufragia fecerunt. Nos eo die cenati solvimus. Inde austro lenissimo, caelo sereno, nocte illa et die postero in Italiam ad Hydruntem ludibundi pervenimus, eodemque vento postridie (id erat a. d. VII. Kalend. Decembr.) hora quarta Brundisium venimus; eodemque tempore simul nobiscum in oppidum introiit Terentia, quae te facit plurimi. A. d. v. Kalend. Decembr. servus Cn. Planci Brundisi tandem aliquando mihi a te exspectatissimas litteras reddidit, datas Idibus Novembr., quae me molestia valde levarunt; utinam omnino liberassent! Sed tamen Asclapo medicus
3 plane confirmat, propediem te valentem fore. Nunc quid ego te horter, ut omnem diligentiam adhibeas ad convalescendum? Tuam prudentiam, temperantiam, amorem erga me novi; scio te omnia facturum, ut nobiscum quam primum sis. Sed tamen ita velim, ut ne quid properes. Symphoniam Lysonis vellem vitasses, ne in quartam hebdomada incideres. Sed quoniam pudori tuo maluisti obsequi, quam valetudini, reliqua cura. Curio misi, ut medico honos haberetur, et tibi daret, quod opus esset; me, cui iussisset, curaturum. Equum et mulum Brundisi tibi

[a] Now Otranto.

On that day, after dinner, we weighed anchor. 2
Sailing thence with a very gentle breeze from the south, and a cloudless sky, in the course of that night and the following day we reached Hydruns[a] on the coast of Italy in quite a frolicsome mood, and with the same wind on the day after (that is on November 24) at 10 A.M. we arrived at Brundisium, and at the same time, simultaneously with ourselves, Terentia entered the town; she values you very highly. On the 26th at Brundisium the slave of Cn. Plancius at last put into my hands your most eagerly awaited letter, dated November 13th. It greatly relieved my distress; would that it had freed me from it altogether! But anyhow Asclapo, the doctor, declares positively that you will soon be well again.

As things now are, why should I urge you to 3
devote yourself with all possible assiduity to your convalescence? I know your common sense, your self-restraint, and your affection for me, and I have no doubt you will move heaven and earth to join us as soon as possible. But my wish that you should do so is qualified by another—that you should not hurry yourself at all. I should have liked you to have refused to attend Lyso's musical party, for fear you might have a fourth attack of your weekly fever. But since you preferred to consider your sense of obligation rather than your health, be more careful for the future. I am sending directions to Curius that your doctor should be given a *douceur*, and that he should let you have any money you require, adding that I shall see to its repayment to any agent he may name. I am leaving a horse and a mule for you at Brundusium. I am afraid there will be

reliqui. Romae vereor, ne ex Kal. Ian. magni tumultus sint. Nos agemus omnia modice.
4 Reliquum est, ut te hoc rogem et a te petam, ne temere naviges. Solent nautae festinare quaestus sui causa. Cautus sis, mi Tiro. Mare magnum et difficile tibi restat. Si poteris, cum Mescinio; caute is solet navigare. Si minus, cum honesto aliquo homine, cuius auctoritate navicularius moveatur. In hoc omnem diligentiam si adhibueris, teque nobis incolumem stiteris, omnia a te habebo. Etiam atque etiam, noster Tiro, vale. Medico, Curio, Lysoni de te scripsi diligentissime. Vale, salve.

X

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI

Cumis, A.U.C. 701 vel 700.

1 Ego vero cupio te ad me venire, sed viam timeo. Gravissime aegrotasti; inedia et purgationibus et vi ipsius morbi consumptus es. Graves solent offensiones esse ex gravibus morbis, si quae culpa commissa est. Iam ad id biduum, quod fueris in via, dum in Cumanum venis, accedent continuo ad reditum dies

serious disturbances at Rome after January 1st. As for myself, I shall act with moderation in all things.

It remains for me to request you, nay, to entreat 4
you, not to be too hasty in taking ship. Sailors are apt to hurry things with an eye to their own gain. Be cautious, my dear Tiro. You have yet a good bit of sea, and a difficult one, to cross. If you possibly can, come across with Mescinius: he is always cautious in making a voyage. Failing that, have some man of standing with you who can exercise some authority over the shipowner. If you take every precaution in this respect, and put in an appearance among us safe and sound, you will have given me all I want. Again and again, Tiro mine, good-bye. I am writing with the utmost particularity about you to your doctor, to Curius, and to Lyso. Good-bye, and good health to you.

X

CICERO TO TIRO

Cumae, April 17, 54 or 53 B.C.

Yes indeed, I am anxious that you should join me, 1
but I am afraid of your travelling. You have been very seriously ill, and you are exhausted from fasting, and taking purgatives, and the violence of the attack itself. Serious illnesses are apt to be followed by serious complications, if any mistake is made. Then, again, to the two days you will have been on the road to Cumae there will be added the five succeeding days needed for your return. I want to

quinque. Ego in Formiano a. d. III. Kalend. esse volo.
2 Ibi te ut firmum offendam, mi Tiro, effice. Litterulae meae, sive nostrae, tui desiderio oblanguerunt. Hac tamen epistula, quam Acastus attulit, oculos paullum sustulerunt. Pompeius erat apud me, cum haec scribebam, hilare et libenter. Ei cupienti audire nostra dixi sine te omnia mea muta esse. Tu Musis nostris para ut operas reddas. Nostra ad diem dictam fient. Docui enim te, fides ἔτυμον quod haberet. Fac plane ut valeas. Nos adsumus. Vale. XIV. Kal.

XI

M. T. ET C., TERENTIA ET TULLIA, Q. FRATER ET Q. F. S. P. D. TIRONI

Ad Urbem, A.U.C. 705.

1 Etsi opportunitatem operae tuae omnibus locis desidero, tamen non tam mea, quam tua causa doleo, te non valere. Sed cum in quartanam conversa vis est morbi (sic enim scribit Curius), spero te, diligentia adhibita, etiam firmiorem fore. Modo fac, id quod est humanitatis tuae, ne quid aliud cures hoc tempore, nisi ut quam commodissime convalescas. Non ignoro, quantum ex desiderio labores, sed erunt omnia facilia,

[a] "Cum fit quod dicitur," "when what is said is done." *Rep.* iv. 21. But in *Off.* i. 21 he fears the derivation is *durius*, "a little hard to swallow."

[b] *i.e.*, "ready to be called upon," a term borrowed from the law-courts.

be at Formiae on the 28th inst. See to it, my dear Tiro, that I find you there in robust health.

My poor little studies (or if you like, *ours*) have 2
simply pined away from longing for you. But this letter which Acastus brought me has made them lift up their eyes a little. Pompey is staying with me as I write these words; he is in good spirits and enjoying himself. When he expresses a desire to hear something of mine, I tell him that, without you, I am altogether dumb. Please be ready to render due services to our Muses. My promise will be fulfilled on the appointed day (I have given you the etymology of the word *fides*).[a] Mind you make a complete recovery. We are "in attendance"[b] here. Good-bye! April 17.

XI

CICERO TO TIRO

Before Rome, January 12, 49 B.C.

I Tullius and my son, Terentia, Tullia, and Quintus and his son, send warmest greetings to Tiro.

Although I miss your timely assistance at every 1
turn, yet it is not on my own account so much as on yours that your illness grieves me. But now that your violent attack has turned into a quartan fever, according to Curius's letter, I hope that with proper care you will recover your strength. Only be sure, and it is no more than your duty as a man, to give your undivided attention during these days to getting well again with all the comfort you can command. I am well aware how much you are harassed by your longing to be with us, but if you only recover your health,

si valebis. Festinare te nolo, ne nauseae molestiam
2 suscipias aeger, et periculose hieme naviges. Ego ad Urbem accessi pridie Nonas Ianuar. Obviam mihi sic est proditum, ut nihil potuerit fieri ornatius. Sed incidi in ipsam flammam civilis discordiae vel potius belli; cui cum cuperem mederi et, ut arbitror, possem, cupiditates certorum hominum (nam ex utraque parte sunt, qui pugnare cupiant) impedimento mihi fuerunt. Omnino et ipse Caesar, amicus noster, minaces ad senatum et acerbas litteras miserat, et erat adhuc impudens, qui exercitum et provinciam invito senatu teneret, et Curio meus illum incitabat. Antonius quidem noster et Q. Cassius, nulla vi expulsi, ad Caesarem cum Curione profecti erant, postea quam senatus consulibus, praetoribus, tribunis plebis et nobis, qui proconsules sumus, negotium dederat, ut curaremus, ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet.
3 Numquam maiore in periculo civitas fuit, numquam improbi cives habuerunt paratiorem ducem. Omnino ex hac quoque parte diligentissime comparatur. Id fit auctoritate et studio Pompei nostri, qui Caesarem sero coepit timere. Nobis inter has turbas senatus tamen frequens flagitavit triumphum; sed Lentulus consul, quo maius suum beneficium faceret, simul atque expedisset, quae essent necessaria de republica,

[a] See Chron. Summ. for 49 B.C.

all difficulties will vanish. I would not have you hurry yourself, lest you should have to suffer the agonies of sea-sickness in your feeble state, and lest a winter voyage should prove dangerous.

I approached the City on January 4. Nothing 2
could be more complimentary than the way I was met by a procession. But my arrival coincided with a very conflagration of civil discord, or rather civil war; and though I had the eager desire, and I believe, the power, to find a remedy for it, I was thwarted by the passionate desires of certain men; for there are those on both sides who desire to fight. To sum up, Caesar himself too, our former friend, has sent a threatening and disagreeable despatch to the Senate, and is still so insolent as to defy the Senate in retaining his army and province; and my old friend Curio eggs him on. Our friend Antony indeed and Q. Cassius, though no violence was used in expelling them, set out in Curio's company to join Caesar, as soon as the Senate had formally charged the consuls, praetor, tribunes of the plebs, and us proconsuls with the duty of seeing that "the Republic suffered no injury."

Never was the State in greater danger;[a] never 3
have disloyal citizens had a better prepared man at their head. On the whole very careful preparations are being made on our side also. That is due to the influence and activity of our old friend Pompey, who, now that it is too late, is beginning to be afraid of Caesar. Amid all these disturbing occurrences a full Senate none the less demanded that I should have a triumph, but Lentulus, the consul, in order to enhance the value of his own services, said that, as soon as he had despatched the necessary public

dixit se relaturum. Nos agimus nihil cupide, eoque
4 est nostra pluris auctoritas. Italiae regiones descriptae sunt, quam quisque partem tueretur. Nos Capuam sumpsimus. Haec te scire volui. Tu etiam atque etiam cura, ut valeas, litterasque ad me mittas, quotiescumque habebis, cui des. Etiam atque etiam vale. D. pridie Idus Ian.

XII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI SUO

Capuae, A.U.C. 705.

1 Quo in discrimine versetur salus mea et bonorum omnium atque universae reipublicae, ex eo scire potes, quod domos nostras, et patriam ipsam vel diripiendam vel inflammandam reliquimus. In eum locum res deducta est, ut, nisi qui deus vel casus
2 aliquis subvenerit, salvi esse nequeamus. Equidem ut veni ad Urbem, non destiti omnia et sentire et dicere et facere, quae ad concordiam pertinerent; sed mirus invaserat furor non solum improbis, sed etiam his, qui boni habentur, ut pugnare cuperent, me clamante, nihil esse bello civili miserius. Itaque cum Caesar amentia quadam raperetur et, oblitus nominis atque honorum suorum, Ariminum, Pisaurum, Anco-

business, he would bring forward a motion on the subject. I am doing nothing in a spirit of self-aggrandizement, and my influence is by so much the more esteemed. Italy has been marked out into 4
districts, showing what part is under the charge of each of us. I have chosen Capua. That is all I wanted you to know. Again and again I beg you to take care of your health, and to send me a letter whenever you find a man to entrust with one. Again and again, good-bye. January 12.

XII

CICERO TO TIRO

Capua, January 27, 49 B.C.

The extreme peril to which my own personal safety 1
and that of all loyal citizens, and indeed that of the whole body politic is exposed, you may infer from our having abandoned our homes and our very country to either rapine or conflagration. To such a pass have things come, that unless some god, or some chance or other, comes to our aid, we cannot escape ruin.

For myself, never, since I came to the city, have I 2
ceased by thought, word, and deed, to help the cause of harmony; but a mysterious madness had possessed not only the disloyal, but those also who are regarded as loyal, making them eager to fight, in spite of my outcries that the worst of all miseries is a civil war. Consequently, when Caesar was seized with a sort of insanity, and, forgetting his name, and the honours he held, had occupied Ariminum, Pisaurum, Ancona,

nam, Arretium occupavisset, Urbem reliquimus; quam sapienter aut quam fortiter, nihil attinet dis-
3 putare. Quo quidem in casu simus, vides. Feruntur omnino condiciones ab illo, ut Pompeius eat in Hispaniam; delectus, qui sunt habiti, et praesidia nostra dimittantur; se ulteriorem Galliam Domitio, citeriorem Considio Noniano (his enim obtigerunt) traditurum; ad consulatus petitionem se venturum; neque se iam velle, absente se, rationem haberi sui; se praesentem trinum nundinum petiturum. Accepimus condiciones; sed ita, ut removeat praesidia ex his locis, quae occupavit, ut sine metu de iis ipsis
4 condicionibus Romae senatus haberi possit. Id ille si fecerit, spes est pacis non honestae; leges enim imponuntur. Sed quidvis est melius, quam sic esse, ut sumus. Sin autem ille suis condicionibus stare noluerit, bellum paratum est; eiusmodi tamen, quod sustinere ille non possit, praesertim cum a suis condicionibus ipse fugerit; tantummodo ut eum intercludamus, ne ad Urbem possit accedere; quod sperabamus fieri posse. Delectus enim magnos habebamus; putabamusque illum metuere, si ad Urbem ire coepisset, ne Gallias amitteret; quas ambas habet inimicissimas, praeter Transpadanos; ex Hispania-

[a] L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.

[b] Probably the man who was praetor in 52.

[c] A *nundinum* being a period of eight days, three *nundina* would be twenty-four days, the time required by law for the *professio* (public declaration or manifesto) of a candidate for office. *Trinum nundinum*, originally a gen. plur., came to be used (like *sestertium*) as a neuter singular, and is here an accusative of duration of time.

and Arretium, we left the city; the wisdom or courage of that course it is now useless to discuss.

At any rate you see our position. These, broadly 3
speaking, are the terms Caesar offers—that Pompey should go to Spain, that the recently levied troops, and our garrisons, should be disbanded, that upon this he will surrender Northern Gaul to Domitius,[a] and Southern Gaul to Considius Nonianus[b] (for it was to them that those provinces have been allotted); that he will return to canvass for the consulship, that he no longer wishes his candidature to be admitted in his absence, and that he will be a candidate on the spot for the period covering three *nundina*.[c] These terms we have accepted, but only on condition that he withdraws his garrisons from the places he has occupied, so that the Senate may meet in Rome to discuss these same terms with no sense of apprehension.

If he does so, there is some hope of peace, though 4
not with honour; for they are orders that are laid upon us. But anything is better than that our present plight should continue. If, however, he refuses to stand by his own terms, war is ready at hand, but such a war as he could not possibly face (especially after abandoning his own conditions), if only we cut him off from all chance of approaching the city; and that we hope can be done, as we are holding levies on an extensive scale; and we believe that he is afraid, if once he begins to march upon the city, of losing the two Gauls, both of which he finds extremely hostile to him, with the exception of the Transpadani.[d] From

[d] Whose claims to the franchise had been warmly supported by Caesar, who carried them into effect when he came to Rome in April.

que sex legiones et magna auxilia, Afranio et Petreio ducibus, habet a tergo. Videtur, si insaniet, posse opprimi; modo ut urbe salva! Maximam autem plagam accepit, quod is, qui summam auctoritatem in illius exercitu habebat, T. Labienus, socius sceleris esse noluit; reliquit illum et nobiscum est; multique

5 idem facturi esse dicuntur. Ego adhuc orae maritimae praesum a Formiis. Nullum maius negotium suscipere volui, quo plus apud illum meae litterae cohortationesque ad pacem valerent. Sin autem erit bellum, video me castris et certis legionibus praefuturum. Habeo etiam illam molestiam, quod Dolabella noster apud Caesarem est. Haec tibi nota esse volui; quae cave ne te perturbent et impediant

6 valetudinem tuam. Ego A. Varroni, quem cum amantissimum mei cognovi, tum etiam valde tui studiosum, diligentissime te commendavi, ut et valetudinis tuae rationem haberet et navigationis, et totum te susciperet ac tueretur; quem omnia facturum confido. Recepit enim, et mecum locutus est suavissime. Tu, cum eo tempore mecum esse non potuisti, quo ego maxime operam et fidelitatem desideravi tuam, cave festines aut committas, ut aut aeger aut hieme naviges. Numquam sero te venisse

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[a] T. Labienus was afterwards slain at Munda.

[b] Caesar. [c] For this Varro see note *a* on xiii. 22. 1.

the direction of Spain too he has six legions and a strong force of auxiliaries under the command of Afranius and Petreius, threatening his rear. Should he play the madman, it looks as though he might be crushed,—if only he could be, and Rome still safe! The heaviest blow he has had, however, is that the man who held the most influential position in his army, T. Labienus,[a] has refused to associate himself with his chief's misdeeds; he has left him and come over to us, and it is said that many others are likely to do the same.

Myself I am still in command of all the sea-coast, 5
south of Formiae; I was disinclined to undertake any greater responsibility, so that my letters and remonstrances might carry greater weight with our friend[b] in favour of peace. If there be a war, however, I foresee that I shall be given the command of a camp and certain legions. I have this also to worry me, that my son-in-law Dolabella is in Caesar's camp. I wanted you to be apprised of all this, but take care that it does not put you out, or stand in the way of your recovery.

I have commended you very earnestly to A. Varro,[c] 6
whom I have found to be not only a very true friend to myself, but also sincerely devoted to you, asking him to interest himself in your health and voyage, and take you entirely under his charge and protection. All this I feel sure he will do; for he guaranteed that he would, and spoke to me most charmingly. Since you could not be with me at the very time when I chiefly missed your faithful services, mind you do not hurry now, or make the mistake of sailing when you are ill, or the weather is bad. I shall never think you have come too late, if you are safe and sound when you do

putabo, si salvus veneris. Adhuc neminem videram, qui te postea vidisset quam M. Volusius, a quo tuas litteras accepi; quod non mirabar; neque enim meas puto ad te litteras tanta hieme perferri. Sed da operam, ut valeas; et, si valebis, cum recte navigari poterit, tum naviges. Cicero meus in Formiano erat, Terentia et Tullia Romae. Cura, ut valeas. IV. Kalendas Febr. Capua.

XIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI

Cumis, A.U.C. 700 vel 701.

Omnia a te data mihi putabo, si te valentem videro. Summa cura exspectabam adventum Menandri, quem ad te miseram. Cura, si me diligis, ut valeas et, cum te bene confirmaris, ad nos venias. Vale. IV. Idus April.

XIV

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI

Cumis, A.U.C. 700 vel 701.

1 Andricus postridie ad me venit quam exspectaram. Itaque habui noctem plenam timoris ac miseriae. Tuis litteris nihilo sum factus certior, quomodo te haberes; sed tamen sum recreatus. Ego omni de-

[a] For Volusius see v. 20. 3.
[b] Some editors read *Andrici* here; others leave *Menandri* and read *Menander* at the beginning of the next letter.

come. Up to the present I have seen nobody who saw you since M. Volusius[a] did, from whose hands I received your letter, and I am not surprised at it, for I don't think my own letters to you reach their destination in such wintry weather. But do all you can to get well, and if you are well, only sail when a voyage can be made with safety. My boy Cicero is in my house at Formiae, Terentia and Tullia at Rome. Take care of your health. Capua, January 27.

XIII

CICERO TO TIRO

Cumae, April 10, 54 or 53 B.C.

I shall consider that you have done me every possible favour, if I see you in good health. I await with the greatest anxiety the arrival of Menander,[b] whom I sent to you. As you love me, take care of your health, and mind you join us when you have made a complete recovery. Good-bye. April 10th.

XIV

CICERO TO TIRO

Cumae, April 10, 54 or 53 B.C.

Andricus did not join me until the day after I 1
expected him; so I had a night full of fear and misery. Your letter added nothing at all to my information as to your condition, but all the same it relieved me. I have nothing to amuse me, no

lectatione litterisque omnibus careo; quas ante quam te videro, attingere non possum. Medico mercedis, quantum poscet, promitti iubeto. Id scripsi
2 ad Ummium. Audio te animo angi, et medicum dicere ex eo te laborare. Si me diligis, excita ex somno tuas litteras humanitatemque, propter quam mihi es carissimus. Nunc opus est te animo valere, ut corpore possis. Id cum tua, tum mea causa facias, a te peto. Acastum retine, quo commodius tibi ministretur. Conserva te mihi; dies promissorum adest, quem etiam repraesentabo,—si adveneris. Etiam atque etiam vale. IV. Idus hora VI.

XV

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI

Cumis, A.U.C. 700 vel 701.

1 Aegypta ad me venit pridie Idus Apriles. Is etsi mihi nuntiavit, te plane febri carere et belle habere, tamen, quod negavit te potuisse ad me scribere, curam mihi attulit, et eo magis, quod Hermia, quem eodem die venire oportuerat, non venerat. Incredibili sum sollicitudine de tua valetudine; qua si me liberaris, ego te omni cura liberabo. Plura scriberem, si iam putarem libenter te legere posse. Ingenium tuum, quod ego maximi facio, confer ad te mihi

[a] Perhaps Cicero's *dispensator*, household steward, at Tusculum.
[b] To manumit you.
[c] Formerly a slave, now a freedman, of Cicero.
[d] Probably a slave of Cicero. *Cf. Q. Fr.* i. 2. 12.

literary work on hand; I cannot bring myself to touch it, until I see you. Please give orders that your doctor shall be promised whatever fee he asks. I am writing to that effect to Ummius.[a]

I am told that you are distressed in mind, and 2
that your doctor says that you are suffering in health as a result of it. As you love me, arouse from slumber your literary talents, and that culture which makes you so precious to me. You must now be well in mind, so as to be so in body. I beg of you to ensure this as much for my sake as for your own. Retain Acastus's services, so that you may be waited upon with greater comfort. Keep yourself safe for me; the day of my promise[b] is at hand—indeed, I shall definitely fix it now—it will be the day you arrive. Again and again, good-bye. Noon, April 10.

XV

CICERO TO TIRO

Cumae, April 12, 54 or 53 B.C.

Aegypta[c] joined me here on April 12th. Al- 1
though he reported that you were entirely rid of your fever and were going on nicely, yet his telling me that you had been unable to write caused me some anxiety; and all the more so, because Hermia,[d] who ought to have arrived on the same day, has not done so. You could not believe how anxious I am about your health: if you relieve me from that anxiety, I will relieve you of all your duties. I should write a longer letter if I thought you were now able to enjoy the reading of it. Concentrate your wits, of which I have the highest opinion,

tibique conservandum. Cura te etiam atque etiam
2 diligenter. Vale. Scripta iam epistula, Hermia venit. Accepi tuam epistulam, vacillantibus litterulis; nec mirum, tam gravi morbo. Ego ad te Aegyptam misi, quod nec inhumanus est et te visus est mihi diligere; ut is tecum esset; et cum eo coquum, quo uterere. Vale.

XVI

Q. C. S. P. D. M. CICERONI FRATRI

In Gallia (?), A.U.C. 700 vel 701.

1 De Tirone, mi Marce, ita te meumque Ciceronem et meam Tulliolam tuumque filium videam, ut mihi gratissimum fecisti, cum eum, indignum illa fortuna, nobis amicum quam servum esse maluisti. Mihi crede, tuis et illius litteris perlectis, exsilui gaudio.
2 Tibi et ago gratias et gratulor. Si enim mihi Stati fidelitas est tantae voluptati, quanti esse in isto haec eadem bona debent, additis litteris, sermonibus, humanitate, quae sunt his ipsis commodis potiora! Amo te omnibus equidem maximis de causis, verum etiam propter hanc, vel quod mihi sic, ut debuisti,

upon keeping yourself safe for my benefit, as well as your own. Use every care (I say it again and again) in looking after your health. Good-bye.

P.S. Since the above was written Hermia has 2
turned up. I have got your letter, though your poor handwriting is very shaky; and no wonder, after so serious an illness. I send you Aegypta to stay with you, because he is not without culture, and is, I believe, fond of you; and with him a cook, for you to make use of. Good-bye.

XVI

QUINTUS CICERO TO MARCUS CICERO

Rome, or on his way to, or in Transalpine Gaul, 54 or 53 B.C.

In the matter of Tiro, my dear Marcus, as surely 1
as I hope to see you, and my son Cicero, and my darling Tullia, and your son, you have done what gave me extreme pleasure, when you preferred that he whose position was so unworthy of him should be our friend rather than a slave. Believe me, when I had perused your letter, and his, I jumped for joy, and I not only thank, but I congratulate you too.

For if Statius's faithful service is so constant a 2
pleasure to me, how inestimable should such good qualities be in your man, when we think too of his literary and conversational powers, and his refinement—merits which outweigh even those qualities which minister to our personal comfort. I have every reason, and each the strongest possible, to love you, and I have this reason also, I mean that you sent me

nuntiasti. Te totum in litteris vidi. Sabini pueris et promisi omnia, et faciam.

XVII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI

Asturae, A.U.C. 709.

Video, quid agas: tuas quoque epistulas vis referri in volumina. Sed heus tu, qui *κανών* esse meorum scriptorum soles, unde illud tam *ἄκυρον*, *valetudini fideliter inserviendo*? Unde in istum locum *fideliter* venit? cui verbo domicilium est proprium in officio, migrationes in alienum multae. Nam et doctrina et domus et ars et ager etiam *fidelis* dici potest, ut sit, quomodo Theophrasto placet, verecunda tralatio. Sed haec coram. Demetrius venit ad me, quo quidem comitatu ἀφωμίλησα, satis scite.[1] Tu eum videlicet non potuisti videre. Cras aderit; videbis igitur. Nam ego hinc perendie mane cogito. Valetudo tua

[1] *H.F.D.*: satis scis *Nobbe*.

[a] The news of Tiro's manumission.

[b] See xv. 20. 1.

[c] *κανών* = Lat. *norma*, the standard by which what is correct is tested. *ἄκυρον* = "an unauthorized or obsolete expression."

[d] Cicero's objection seems to us hypercritical; he appears to argue that because *fidelis* implies unselfish service to others, its application to the selfish care of one's own health is a contradiction in terms, a confusion of the objective with the subjective. But that *fideliter* can be used in the wider sense of "thoroughly" or "conscientiously" is proved by Ovid's "*ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes Emollit mores.*"

[e] Perhaps this is Demetrius of Sadara, a favourite freedman of Pompey's. Tyrrell.

the news[a] in precisely the proper way. All of you was revealed to me in your letter. I have promised Sabinus's[b] serving-men to do all they asked, and I shall do so.

XVII

CICERO TO TIRO

Astura, July 29, 45 B.C.

I see what you are up to; you want your own 1
letters also to be put into book form. But look you here, sir, you who love to be the "rule"[c] of *my* writings, where did you get such a solecism as "*faithfully* ministering to your health"? How comes *fideliter*[d] to be used in such a connexion? That word's proper home is in the province of duty, though its migrations to foreign territory are frequent—for instance, learning, a house, art, or even a field, can all be called "*faithful*," provided, as Theophrastus holds, that its metaphorical application is not shockingly extravagant. But of this when we meet.

Demetrius[e] came to see me, but I was clever enough to extricate myself from that companionship. You evidently could not have seen him. He will be in Rome to-morrow, so you will see him then. My own intention is not to leave this place till the morning after next.

Your health is a great anxiety to me; but go on

me valde sollicitat, sed inservi, et fac omnia. Tum te mecum esse, tum mihi cumulatissime satisfacere putato. Cuspio quod operam dedisti, mihi gratum est. Valde enim eius causa volo. Vale.

XVIII

TULLIUS S. P. D. TIRONI

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Quid igitur? non sic oportet? Equidem censeo sic. Addendum etiam *suo.* Sed, si placet, invidia vitetur; quam quidem ego saepe contempsi. Tibi διαφόρησιν gaudeo profuisse. Si vero etiam Tusculanum, di boni! quanto mihi illud erit amabilius! Sed, si me amas, quod quidem aut facis aut perbelle simulas, quod tamen in modum procedit; sed utut[1] est, indulge valetudini tuae, cui quidem tu adhuc, dum mihi deservis, servisti non satis. Ea quid postulet, non ignoras—πέψιν, ἀκοπίαν, περίπατον σύμμετρον, τρῖψιν,[2]

[1] *Manutius and Lambinus*: ut *Nobbe.*
[2] *HDF*: τρψιν *M*: *others read* τέρψιν.

[a] Probably the Cuspius referred to in xiii. 6*a*. 1.
[b] Cicero anticipates Tiro's objection to being addressed without his *praenomen* (Marcus), as being too familiar and unsuited to their respective positions. Cicero would go a step further in familiarity and write "*Tullius Tironi suo.*" For the omission of the *praenomen* as a mark of intimacy see vii. 32. 1.

"ministering" to it, and do all you can for it. It is then you are at my side, it is then you give me the most unbounded satisfaction; remember that.

I am thankful to you for all the assistance you have given Cuspius,[a] for I heartily wish him success. Good-bye.

XVIII

TULLIUS GREETS TIRO

Rome, late in December, 45 B.C.

Well, what of it?[b] Should it not be so? I think it should be so myself, and that even "*his dear*" should be added. But, since you wish it, let us avoid provoking unfavourable comment, which, I must say, I have often treated with contempt. I am delighted that the sudorifics have done you good. But if my Tusculan villa has done so too, good heavens, how much more charming the place will be to me! But as you love me—and indeed you either do so, or make a very pretty pretence of doing so, in which, I admit, you succeed very well[c] —but however that may be, give your health fair play; hitherto, while ministering so devotedly to me, you have not ministered to it enough. What it demands you are well aware—good digestion, avoidance of fatigue, a proper amount of walking, 1

[c] Dr. Reid translates it "which pretence, however, I must say answers your wishes," adding that *procedere in modum* denotes undisturbed rhythmical movement, hence movement in accordance with one's wishes.

εὐλυσίαν κοιλίας. Fac bellus revertare. Non modo
2 te, sed etiam Tusculanum nostrum plus amem. Paredrum excita, ut hortum ipse conducat. Sic holitorem ipsum commovebis. Helico[1] nequissimus HS CIↃ dabat, nullo aprico horto, nullo emissario, nulla maceria, nulla casa. Iste nos tanta impensa derideat? Calface hominem, ut ego Mothonem. Itaque abundo[2]
3 coronis. De Crabra quid agatur, etsi nunc quidem etiam nimium est aquae, tamen velim scire. Horologium mittam et libros, si erit sudum. Sed tu nullosne tecum libellos? an pangis aliquid Sophocleum? Fac opus appareat. A. Ligurius, Caesaris familiaris, mortuus est, bonus homo et nobis amicus. Te quando exspectemus, fac ut sciam. Cura te diligenter. Vale.

XIX

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI

Tusculi, A.U.C. 709.

Exspecto tuas litteras de multis rebus, te ipsum

[1] Salaco *Schütz*: Helluo *Reid*.
[2] *Boot and Reid*: abutor *Tyrrell and others*.

[a] Some editors read τέρψιν, "amusement."
[b] Cicero wishes Tiro to urge one Paredrus, a market-gardener, to rent Cicero's garden, and so stir up the present gardener, who is paying a ridiculously small rent, in spite of the improvements Cicero had recently made in it.
[c] Apparently another market-gardener.
[d] The present gardener.
[e] An aqueduct extending from Tusculum to Rome, for the use of which Cicero paid a tax.

massage,[a] and free action of the bowels. Mind you return in fine fettle. It would make me fonder, not only of you, but of my Tusculan house.

Wake up Paredrus[b] to hire the garden for him- 2
self. Your doing so will give the present gardener a shaking-up. Why, that hopeless rascal Helico[c] used to pay me 1000 sesterces, when there was no sunny-corner, no water-drain, no wall, no garden-shed. Is he[d] to have the laugh of us, when we have gone to all that expense? Warm the fellow up, as I do Motho here, with the result that I get a glut of cut flowers.

As to the Crabra,[e] although at present we have 3
more water than we need, still I should like to know what is being done about it. I shall send you the sun-dial and the book, if we have dry weather. But about yourself, have you no light literature with you? Or are you composing something in the style of Sophocles? Let us see what you have done.

A. Ligurius,[f] the friend of Caesar, is dead—a good man and friendly disposed to me. Be sure to let me know when we are to expect you. Take particular care of yourself. Good-bye.

XIX

CICERO TO TIRO

Tusculum, early in August, 45 B.C.

I am looking forward to a letter from you on many points, but far more to seeing you in person.

[f] Mentioned in *Q. Fr.* iii. 7. 2.

multo magis. Demetrium redde nostrum, et aliud, si quid potest boni. De Aufidiano nomine nihil te hortor. Scio tibi curae esse. Sed confice. Et, si ob eam rem moraris, accipio causam; si id te non tenet, advola. Litteras tuas valde exspecto. Vale.

XX

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

Sollicitat, ita vivam, me tua, mi Tiro, valetudo: sed confido, si diligentiam, quam instituisti, adhibueris, cito te firmum fore. Libros compone, indicem, cum Metrodoro lubebit, quando eius arbitratu vivendum est. Cum holitore, ut videtur. Tu potes Kalendis spectare gladiatores, postridie redire; et ita censeo. Verum ut videbitur. Cura te, si me amas, diligenter. Vale.

[a] Who seems to have taken umbrage at Cicero's avoidance of him.

[b] Probably a citizen of Tusculum who owed Cicero money.

Send me back my Demetrius,[a] and send me anything else you can, if it is good. In the matter of Aufidius's[b] debt, I put no pressure upon you. I know it is an anxiety to you. But settle the business. If that is what detains you, I accept the excuse; if that is not holding you back, come here post-haste. I am eagerly awaiting a letter from you. Good-bye.

XX

CICERO TO TIRO

Rome, end of 45 B.C.

Upon my life, my dear Tiro, your health worries me; but I feel sure that if you devote that attention to it which you have begun to do, you will soon be well again. Please arrange my books and make a catalogue of them when Metrodorus[c] has no objection: since you have got to live according to his injunctions. Settle with the gardener[d] as you think proper. You can see the gladiators on January 1st, and return the next day, and that is what I think you ought to do. But just as you please. Take particular care of yourself, as you love me. Good-bye.

[c] Tiro's physician.

[d] See the last letter.

XXI

C. FIL. S. P. D. TIRONI SUO DULCISS.

Athenis, A.U.C. 710.

1 Cum vehementer tabellarios exspectarem quotidie, aliquando venerunt post diem v. et XL. quam a vobis discesserant; quorum mihi fuit adventus optatissimus. Nam cum maximam cepissem laetitiam ex humanissimi et carissimi patris epistula, tum vero iucundissimae tuae litterae cumulum mihi gaudi attulerunt. Itaque me iam non paenitebat, intercapedinem scribendi fecisse, sed potius laetabar. Fructum enim magnum humanitatis tuae capiebam

[a] Marcus the younger, Cicero's only son, was born in 65, and was thus nine years younger than his sister Tullia. In 51 Cicero took him and his nephew Quintus with him to Cilicia, with the excellent but irascible Dionysius as their tutor. Writing of the boys to Atticus, Cicero says that Quintus needs the curb, and Marcus the spur; and this was Marcus's characteristic through life. In 49 his father gave him the *toga virilis* at Arpinum. He accompanied his father to Greece, and though he was not yet 16 years old, Pompey put him in command of a squadron of cavalry. After Pharsalia he returned with his father to Brundisium. In 46, through Cicero's influence, both he and his cousin Quintus were appointed aediles at Arpinum; and Marcus, now 20 years old, was sent by his father to study philosophy at Athens under Cratippus, with a handsome allowance of something equivalent to £800 a year. Under the evil influence of an unprincipled Greek teacher Gorgias, he became extravagant and idle, and his father wrote peremptorily ordering him to have nothing more to do with Gorgias. Marcus replied, not to his father, but to Tiro, in this interesting and self-revealing letter, which speaks for itself.

XXI

M. CICERO JUNIOR [a] GREETS HIS SWEETEST TIRO

Athens, August or early in September, 44 B.C.

Although I was anxiously on the look out for 1
your letter-carriers every day, they only came at last forty-six days after they had left you, and their arrival was most welcome to me. For though my most kindly and well-beloved father's epistle gave me the greatest possible pleasure, still it was your most delightful letter that crowned my joy. So I no longer regret having made a break in my correspondence, but rather rejoice at it; for the silence of my pen has brought me the rich reward

Brutus, who had made his acquaintance at Athens, made him commander of a squadron of cavalry, in which capacity he served with some credit against Antony. About this time Cicero desired to see his son among the Pontifices, but decided that he should not return to Italy unless accompanied by Brutus; it thus fell out that he escaped the proscription, in which perished his father, his uncle, and his cousin. He fought at Philippi in 42, and after that battle fled to Sextus Pompeius, who made much of him. He returned to Rome in 39 and was handsomely treated by Octavian, who in 30 made him *consul suffectus*; and it was while holding that office that Marcus had the statues of Antony overthrown, and carried a decree that from that day no Antonius should bear the name of Marcus. Thus it came to pass that, in the words of Plutarch (*Cic.* 49), "Heaven (τὸ δαιμόνιον) delivered over to the house of Cicero the final punishment of Antony."

Some years later Marcus became proconsul of Asia, and afterwards *legatus* of Syria.

Though he inherited some of his father's wit, Marcus was a man of mediocre intellect and little ambition; but that he must have possessed considerable military and administrative ability is proved by his fairly successful career.

ex silentio mearum litterarum. Vehementer igitur gaudeo, te meam sine dubitatione accepisse excusa-
2 tionem. Gratos tibi optatosque esse, qui de me rumores afferuntur, non dubito, mi dulcissime Tiro: praestaboque et enitar, ut in dies magis magisque haec nascens de me duplicetur opinio. Quare quod polliceris, te buccinatorem fore existimationis meae, firmo id constantique animo facias licet. Tantum enim mihi dolorem cruciatumque attulerunt errata aetatis meae, ut non solum animus a factis, sed aures quoque a commemoratione abhorreant. Cuius te sollicitudinis et doloris participem fuisse, notum exploratumque est mihi: nec id mirum. Nam cum omnia mea causa velles mihi successa, tum etiam tua. Socium enim te meorum commodorum semper
3 esse volui. Quod igitur tum ex me doluisti, nunc, ut duplicetur tuum ex me gaudium, praestabo. Cratippo me, scito, non ut discipulum, sed ut filium esse coniunctissimum. Nam cum audio illum libenter, tum etiam propriam eius suavitatem vehementer amplector. Sum totos dies cum eo, noctisque saepenumero partem. Exoro enim, ut mecum quam saepissime cenet. Hac introducta consuetudine, saepe inscientibus nobis et cenantibus obrepit sublataque severitate philosophiae humanissime nobiscum iocatur. Quare da operam, ut hunc talem, tam iucundum,

[a] A philosopher of Mitylene, for whom Cicero had a high regard. He accompanied Pompey in his flight after Pharsalia in 48, and afterwards settled at Athens. Through Cicero's influence he obtained from Caesar the Roman citizenship.

of your kindliness. I am, therefore, highly delighted at your unhesitating acceptance of my excuse.

That the rumours, which reach you about me, are 2
gratifying and welcome to you, I have no doubt at all, my dearest Tiro; and I shall make every effort to guarantee that this opinion of me which is springing up more distinctly every day becomes twice as good. For that reason you may with unshaken confidence fulfil your promise of being the trumpeter of my reputation. For the errors of my youth have caused me such grief and agony that not only do my thoughts shrink from what I have done, but my very ears shrink from hearing it talked about. And that you have had your share in that anxiety and grief is well known to me as an ascertained fact; and I am not surprised at it. For when you wished me every success on my account, you did so at the same on your own, since it has ever been my wish that you should be a partner in any prosperity of mine.

Since at that time I caused you grief, I shall 3
now guarantee that the joy I give you is double as much.

I must tell you that my close attachment to Cratippus[a] is not so much that of a pupil as that of a son. For not only do I attend his lectures with enjoyment, but I am greatly fascinated also by the charm of his personality. I spend whole days with him, and often a part of the night. Indeed I implore him to dine with me as often as possible. Now that we have become so intimate, he often strolls in upon us when we least expect him and are at dinner, and throwing to the winds all austerity as a philosopher, he bandies jokes with us in the most genial manner possible. Lay yourself out, there-

4 tam excellentem virum videas quam primum. Nam quid ego de Bruttio dicam? quem nullo tempore a me patior discedere; cuius cum frugi severaque est vita, tum etiam iucundissima convictio. Non est enim seiunctus iocus a φιλολογίᾳ et quotidiana συζητήσει. Huic ego locum in proximo conduxi, et, ut possum, ex meis angustiis illius sustento tenuitatem.
5 Praeterea declamitare Graece apud Cassium institui; Latine autem apud Bruttium exerceri volo. Utor familiaribus et quotidianis convictoribus, quos secum Mitylenis Cratippus adduxit, hominibus et doctis et illi probatissimis. Multum enim mecum est Epicrates, princeps Atheniensium, et Leonides et
6 horum ceteri similes. Τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἡμᾶς τάδε. De Gorgia autem quod mihi scribis, erat quidem ille in quotidiana declamatione utilis; sed omnia postposui, dummodo praeceptis patris parerem. Διαρρήδην enim scripserat, ut eum dimitterem statim. Tergiversari nolui, ne mea nimia σπουδή suspicionem ei aliquam importaret. Deinde illud etiam mihi succurrebat,
7 grave esse, me de iudicio patris iudicare. Tuum tamen studium et consilium gratum acceptumque est mihi. Excusationem angustiarum tui temporis

[a] We know nothing more of Bruttius.

[b] It was he who sent Cicero unsatisfactory accounts of Marcus's progress and conduct.

[c] Loose liver as he was (see note on § 1), Gorgias was a distinguished rhetorician and wrote the treatise Περὶ σχημάτων διανοίας καὶ λέξεως of which we still possess the translation by Rutilius Lupus.

fore, to win the acquaintance of such a man—so delightful and so distinguished as he is.

As to Bruttius,[a] why should I mention him at all? 4
There is never a moment when I allow him to leave my side. He leads a simple and austere life, but at the same time he is a most delightful man to live with. For there is no ban upon merry talk in our literary discussions and our daily joint researches. I have hired lodgings for him next door, and, as far as I can, alleviate his penury out of my own narrow means.

Besides all this I have begun to practise declaim- 5
ing in Greek with Cassius; but I like practising in Latin with Bruttius. I have as daily and intimate companions the men whom Cratippus brought with him from Mitylene—men of learning and highly esteemed by him. Epicrates, for instance, the leading man among the Athenians, is much with me, and so is Leonides,[b] and others of that stamp. So much then about myself.

As to what you write about Gorgias,[c] it is true 6
I found him useful in my practice in declamation: but I thought everything else of secondary importance, provided I obeyed my father's instructions, who had written to me in explicit terms to get rid of Gorgias at once. I did not want to temporize, for fear my making too much of the business might strike my father as somewhat suspicious; and besides it occurred to me that it was a serious thing for me to pass judgment on the judgment of my father.

Anyhow your interest and advice is welcome and 7
acceptable to me. I accept the excuse that your

accipio; scio enim, quam soleas esse occupatus. Emisse te praedium vehementer gaudeo, feliciterque tibi rem istam evenire cupio. Hoc loco me tibi gratulari, noli mirari. Eodem enim fere loco, tu quoque, emisse te, fecisti me certiorem. Habes.[1] Deponendae tibi sunt urbanitates. Rusticus Romanus factus es. Quomodo ego mihi nunc ante oculos tuum iucundissimum conspectum propono! Videor enim videre ementem te rusticas res, cum villico loquentem, in lacinia servantem ex mensa secunda semina. Sed quod ad rem pertinet, me tum tibi defuisse, aeque ac tu doleo. Sed noli dubitare, mi Tiro, quin te sublevaturus sim, si modo fortuna me; praesertim cum sciam, communem nobis emp-
8 tum esse istum fundum. De mandatis quod tibi curae fuit, est mihi gratum. Sed peto a te, ut quam celerrime mihi librarius mittatur, maxime quidem Graecus; multum mihi enim eripitur operae in exscribendis hypomnematis. Tu velim in primis cures, ut valeas, ut una συμφιλολογεῖν possimus. Anterum tibi commendo. Vale.

[1] rem habes *Reid* (*supposing* rem *to have been lost after* certiorem): habes deponendae ubi sint *Graecius*.

[a] For this absolute use of *habere* cf. *Att.* xii. 23. 3 "habet in Ostiensi Cotta." But see note on the text.

time is strictly limited, being well aware how busy you always are. That you have bought a farm is a great joy to me, and it is my sincere wish that the transaction may turn out happily for you. You must not be surprised at my congratulating you at this point in my letter; for it was practically at the same point in yours that you informed me of your purchase. Why, you are a land-owner![a] You have got to drop your city ways. You have become a Roman country gentleman. How I call you up before my eyes this very moment—and a very charming picture it is! I seem to see you buying rural implements, hobnobbing with your steward, or keeping the pips after dessert in the corner of your cloak.[b] But as regards the money part of it, I am as sorry as you are that I was not forthcoming at the time. You must never doubt, however, my dear Tiro, that I shall come to your assistance, if only fortune comes to mine; especially as I know that that farm of yours was bought as our joint-investment.

For taking such trouble about my commissions, 8
I am grateful to you. But I beg of you to see that a secretary is sent me as quickly as possible—best of all a Greek; for that will relieve me of a lot of trouble in writing out lecture-notes.[c] Above all, I would have you take care of your health, so that we may have some literary talk together. I commend Anterus[d] to you. Farewell.

[b] In order to sow them. [c] A characteristic request.
[d] The slave who brought the letter.

XXII

TULLIUS S. P. D. TIRONI

Asturae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Spero ex tuis litteris, tibi melius esse; cupio certe. Cui quidem rei omni ratione cura ut inservias, et cave suspiceris, contra meam voluntatem te facere, quod non sis mecum. Mecum es, si te curas. Quare malo te valetudini tuae servire, quam meis oculis et auribus. Etsi enim et audio te et video libenter, tamen hoc multo erit, si valebis, iucundius. Ego hic cesso, quia ipse nihil scribo; lego autem libentissime. Tu istic, si quid librarii mea manu non intellegent, monstrabis. Una omnino interpositio difficilior est, quam ne ipse quidem facile legere soleo, de quadrimo Catone. De triclinio cura, ut facis. Tertia aderit,
2 modo ne Publius rogatus sit. Demetrius iste numquam omnino Phalereus fuit; sed nunc plane Billienus est. Itaque te do vicarium. Tu eum observabis.

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[a] The story was in all probability that told of Cato Uticensis when a boy, by Plutarch (*Cat. Min.* 2). One Pompaedius Silo tried to induce the little Cato to influence his uncle, Livius Drusus, to advocate the granting of the franchise to the Italians. On the boy's refusing to do so, Pompaedius held him out of window, and threatened to drop him if he would not do as he was told, but the boy remained ἀνέκπληκτος καὶ ἀδεής, "undismayed and fearless." It is true that Cato was born in 95, and was therefore just four years old just before the Social War of 91. This is the story which Cicero added to his work on Cato the younger, written in 46, but in so cramped a hand that he always found it hard to make out what he had himself written.

[b] Probably Tertia, or Tertulla, wife of Cassius, and Publius is Dolabella; but this is mere surmise.

XXII

CICERO TO TIRO

Astura, July 27, 45 B.C.

Your letter makes me hope that you are better; 1
that, at any rate, is what I desire. Make every thing subservient to that one object, and on no account be apprehensive that you are acting contrary to my wishes in not being at my side. You *are* at my side if you are taking care of yourself; and for that reason I had rather have you the slave of your own health than the slave of my eyes and ears. For though it is a pleasure to me to hear and see you, it will be far more delightful to do so if you are well. I am idling here, because I am not writing anything myself, but reading is a great pleasure to me. Being where you are, I am sure you will explain anything the copyists cannot make out on account of my handwriting. There is certainly one rather difficult inserted passage, which even I myself always find it hard to decipher, about Cato at the age of four.[a] About the dinner-table, please see to it, as I am sure you do. Tertia[b] will be there, provided Publius has not been asked.

That Demetrius[c] of yours was never a De- 2
metrius of Phalerum at all, but now he is an absolute Billienus. I therefore appoint you my representative. Please show him some attention. "*And*

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[c] See *Epp.* 17. 2, and 19. Demetrius of Phalerum was a very different man — cultured and erudite. The name Demetrius suggests the Demetrius whose slave Billienus strangled Domitius at Album Intimilium. For the story see viii. 15. 2.

"*Etsi*," "*verumtamen*," "*de illis*"—nosti cetera. Sed tamen, si quem cum eo sermonem habueris, scribes ad me, ut mihi nascatur epistulae argumentum, et ut tuas quam longissimas litteras legam. Cura, mi Tiro, ut valeas. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes. Vale.

XXIII

TULLIUS S. P. D. TIRONI SUO

Tusculi, A.U.C. 710.

1 Tu vero confice professionem, si potes. Etsi haec pecunia ex eo genere est, ut professione non egeat. Verum tamen . . . Balbus ad me scripsit, tanta se ἐπιφορᾷ oppressum, ut loqui non possit. Antonius de lege "quod egerit." Liceat modo rusticari. Ad
2 Bithynicum scripsi. De Servilio tu videris, qui senectutem non contemnis. Etsi Atticus noster, quia quondam me commoveri πανικοῖς intellexit, idem semper putat, nec videt, quibus praesidiis philosophiae septus sim; et hercle, quod timidus ipse est, θορυβοποιεῖ. Ego tamen Antoni inveteratam sine nulla offensione amicitiam retinere sane volo, scribamque ad eum, sed

[a] Cicero is evidently mocking at Demetrius's *staccato* way of talking.

[b] Tyrrell thinks that this was probably the *Lex Agraria* of Lucius Antonius, passed in June of this year. The elliptical phrase *quod egerit* (sc. *id actum habebo*) = "whatever he does I shall regard as done," *i.e.* "for all I care, let him do what he likes." The phrase also occurs in the next letter.

[c] The writer of vi. 16, where see note.

[d] Servilius Isauricus, who had just died at an advanced age.

[e] *i.e.*, that I am afraid of death.

yet!" "*But nevertheless!*" "*As for them!*" You know how he goes on.[a] Anyhow, if you have any talk with him, please write to me, so that I may have the germ of a theme for a letter, and may have as long a letter as possible to read from you. Take care of your health, my dear Tiro. Nothing you can do will give me greater pleasure than that. Good-bye.

XXIII

CICERO TO TIRO

Tusculum, about June 21, 44 B.C.

Yes, certainly; finish making up the tax-return 1
if you possibly can; although this particular money is not under a heading which requires a return. But that is as may be . . . Balbus writes that he has had such an attack of catarrh that he has lost his voice. As for what Antony has done about the law, for all I care, let it stand.[b] Only let me be free to enjoy the country. I have written to Bithynicus.[c]

About Servilius[d] you will have your own opinion 2
—you, who have a deep respect for old age. And yet our friend Atticus, because he once noticed that I was upset by panic, always thinks the same of me,[e] and does not see with what safeguards of philosophy I am hedged round; and, on my oath, he is so timid himself, that he causes general consternation. For all you say, I am very anxious to keep up my friendship with Antony, which has lasted so long without our falling out, and I shall write to him, but not before I have seen you—not

non ante quam te videro. Nec tamen te avoco asyngrapha; γόνυ κνήμης. Cras exspecto Leptam et N. . . ., ad cuius rutam pulegio mihi tui sermonis utendum est. Vale.

XXIV

TULLIUS S. P. D. TIRONI

Arpini, A.U.C. 710.

1 Etsi mane Harpalum miseram, tamen, cum haberem, cui recte darem litteras, etsi novi nihil erat, iisdem de rebus volui ad te saepius scribere; non quin confiderem diligentiae tuae, sed rei me magnitudo movebat. Mihi prora et puppis, ut Graecorum proverbium est, fuit a me tui dimittendi, ut rationes nostras explicares. Ofillio et Aurelio utique satis fiat. A Flamma, si non potes omne, partem aliquam velim extorqueas: in primisque, ut expedita sit pensio Kalendis Ian. De attributione conficies. De repraesentatione videbis. De domesticis rebus hactenus.

[a] Which Cicero held.

[b] Lit. "the knee is nearer home than the shin" (γόνυ κνήμης ἔγγιον, Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* ix. 8. 2). *Cf.* ἀπωτέρω ἢ γόνυ κνάμα, Theocrit. xvi. 18. The Latin equivalent is *tunica proprior pallio*, "the coat is nearer than the cloak." *Cf.* English "near is my shirt, but nearer is my skin." There is a Welsh proverb very like the Greek, "*Nes elin nag arddwrn*," "the elbow is nearer than the wrist."

[c] *Cf.* vi. 18 and 19.

[d] "N." probably stands for "nostrum," *i.e.*, the younger Quintus, so spoken of by Cicero in *Att.* xv. 29. 2 also.

[e] Lit. "to whose rue I must apply the pennyroyal of your conversation."

[f] Or "the Alpha and Omega" as Tyrrell renders it, and he quotes Dio Chrys. xxxvii. p. 120 R. ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἔστε νῦν τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον πρῶρα καὶ πρύμνα τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

that I would have you forget the payment of your bond[a];—"charity begins at home."[b] To-morrow I am expecting Lepta[c] and N.[d] too—and I shall have to avail myself of the sweetness of your conversation to assuage the bitterness of his.[e]

XXIV

CICERO TO TIRO

Arpinum, middle of November, 44 B.C.

Although I had sent Harpalus earlier in the day, 1
still, finding that I had a trustworthy letter-carrier, although there is nothing new, I wanted to write to you again and again on the same subjects—not that I have lost confidence in your application, but the importance of the matter makes me restless. The "stem and stern"[f] (as the Greek proverb goes) of my sending you away from me was that you might straighten out my financial affairs. It is imperative that Ofillius[g] and Aurelius[h] should have their claims satisfied. I should like you to wring out of Flamma, if not all the debt, at least some portion of it; and especially to see that the instalment[i] is cleared off on January 1st. As to the assignment of debts, make some settlement; and please see to their paying ready money. So much for my private affairs.

[g] A co-heir with Cicero to the estate of Cluvius of Puteoli.

[h] An agent of one Montanus, who had become surety to Plancus for Flaminius Flamma, and was now obliged to meet Flamma's liabilities.

[i] *i.e.*, of Tullia's dowry by Dolabella.

2 De publicis omnia mihi certa; quid Octavius, quid Antonius: quae hominum opinio; quid futurum putes. Ego vix teneor, quin accurram. Sed sto[1]; litteras tuas exspecto; et scito Balbum tum fuisse Aquini, cum tibi est dictum, et postridie Hirtium. Puto utrumque ad aquas; sed "quod egerint." Dolabellae procuratores fac admoneantur. Appellabis etiam Papiam. Vale.

XXV

CICERO FIL. S. P. D. TIRONI

Athenis, A.U.C. 710.

Etsi iusta et idonea usus es excusatione intermissionis litterarum tuarum, tamen, id ne saepius facias, rogo. Nam etsi de republica rumoribus et nuntiis certior fio, et de sua in me voluntate semper ad me perscribit pater, tamen de quavis minima re scripta a te ad me epistula semper fuit gratissima. Quare cum in primis tuas desiderem litteras, noli committere, ut excusatione potius expleas officium scribendi, quam assiduitate epistularum. Vale.

[1] st! *Manutius and Edd., but* sto *is obviously suggested, I think, by the preceding words.*

[a] See note on the text.
[b] See note *b* on § 1 of the last letter.
[c] About the repayment of Tullia's dowry.
[d] Nothing more is known of Papia.
[e] See note at the beginning of *Ep.* 21.

On public affairs let me have every possible information that can be trusted—what Octavianus, and what Antony is up to, what is generally thought, and what you suppose is going to happen. I can hardly keep myself from coming to you hot-foot. But I stand still;[a] I patiently await a letter from you; and let me tell you that Balbus was at Aquinum on the day you were told, and Hirtius on the next day. I imagine both were going there for the waters; but it is no business of mine![b] See that Dolabella's agents have their memories jogged.[c] Send a reminder to Papia[d] also. Good-bye. 2

XXV

MARCUS CICERO JUNIOR[e] TO TIRO

Athens, September or October, 44 B.C.

Although the excuse you offer for the break in your correspondence is a fair and proper one, still I beg you not to make too much of a practice of it. Although rumours and messages keep me informed about the political situation, and my father is always writing to me, and fully too, about his friendly feeling for you, for all that a letter written by you to me about anything, however trivial, has always been most welcome to me. For that reason, seeing that I miss your letters more than anything, don't make the mistake of discharging the obligations of correspondence by making excuses rather than by assiduity in letter-writing. Good-bye.

XXVI

Q. CICERO S. P. D. TIRONI SUO

Romae (?), A.U.C. 710.

1 Verberavi te cogitationis tacito dumtaxat convicio, quod fasciculus alter ad me iam sine tuis litteris perlatus est. Non potes effugere huius culpae poenam, te patrono. Marcus est adhibendus; isque diu et multis lucubrationibus commentata oratione, vide ut
2 probare possit, te non peccasse. Plane te rogo, sicut olim matrem nostram facere memini, quae lagenas etiam inanes obsignabat, ne dicerentur inanes aliquae fuisse, quae furtim essent exsiccatae, sic tu, etiamsi, quod scribas, non habebis, scribito tamen, ne furtum cessationis quaesivisse videaris. Valde enim mihi semper et vera et dulcia tuis epistulis nuntiantur. Ama nos et vale.

XXVII

Q. C. S. P. D. TIRONI SUO

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Mirificam mihi verberationem cessationis epistula tua[1] dedisti. Nam, quae parcius frater perscripserat,

[1] tua *added by Wesenberg, since* epistula *by itself cannot mean "by letter," as* litteris *can.*

[a] His brother, the orator.
[b] Or, as Tyrrell translates it, "that you may not be suspected of stealing a holiday."

XXVI

QUINTUS CICERO SENIOR TO TIRO

Rome (?), autumn (?), 44 B.C.

I have just given you a thrashing (so far as I could with the strong but inaudible language of thought), because this is now the second packet that has reached me without a letter from you. That is an offence for which you cannot escape punishment—that is, if you undertake your own defence. No, Marcus[a] must be called in; and when he has spent much time and many a night elaborating his speech by lamplight, don't be so sure that even he can prove your innocence. 1

I make a plain request of you; just as in the old days I remember my mother used to do—she used to seal up her wine-jars even when she had emptied them, so as to prevent its being said that any were empty which had been drained of their contents by a thief; on the same principle, I ask you, even if you have nothing to write, to write all the same, and so avoid the suspicion of having tried to get a day off by stealing it.[b] I assure you, I always find the news in your letters as trustworthy as it is charmingly told. Keep on loving me, and good-bye. 2

XXVII

QUINTUS CICERO TO TIRO

Rome, late in December, 44 B.C.

You have given me in your letter a jolly good thrashing for my laziness;—for what my brother 1

verecundia videlicet et properatione, ea tu sine assentatione, ut erant, ad me scripsisti, et maxime de consulibus designatis: quos ego penitus novi libidinum et languoris effeminatissimi animi plenos: qui nisi a gubernaculis recesserint, maximum ab universo nau-
2 fragio periculum est. Incredibile est, quae ego illos scio, oppositis Gallorum castris, in aestivis fecisse, quos ille latro, nisi aliquid firmius fuerit, societate vitiorum deleniet. Res est aut tribuniciis aut privatis consiliis munienda. Nam isti duo vix sunt digni, quibus alteri Caesenam, alteri Cossutianarum tabernarum fundamenta credas. Te, ut dixi, fero oculis.[1] Ego vos a. d. III. Kalend. videbo, tuosque oculos, etiamsi te veniens in medio foro videro, dissuaviabor. Me ama. Vale.

[1] in oculis *Tyrrell, following Ernesti.*

[a] Hirtius and Pansa: what the hot-headed Quintus says of them here and in § 2 must be taken *cum grano salis.* Whatever their weaknesses (and Quintus doubtlessly exaggerates them), both fell fighting manfully for the Republic.

[b] Antony.

[c] Hirtius, with the custody of the insignificant little town Caesena, 20 miles north-west of Ariminum, and near the Rubicon.

[d] Pansa, with the cellars of the taverns of Cossutius (of whom we know nothing more).

had told me in his letter with some reserve, evidently being modest about it, and also in a hurry, all that you have written to me, stating the facts without sycophancy; and particularly as regards the consuls-designate,[a] who I am absolutely assured are tainted with sensualism and a weak-mindedness that is essentially womanish; and unless they resign the helm, there is every danger of universal shipwreck.

You could never believe what I know those men 2
did in summer quarters, when the camp of the Gauls was right opposite them—men whom that scoundrel,[b] unless firmer measures are taken, will captivate by making them share in his vices. Things must be buttressed up by either the tribunes or private persons taking counsel together. For as to those two fellows, they are hardly fit to be entrusted, the one with Caesena,[c] and the other with the vaults under Cossutius's wine-shops.[d] As I said, I have you ever before my face.[e] I shall see you all on the 30th, and as for that face of yours, even if I see you in the middle of the forum on my arrival, I shall smother it with kisses. Keep on loving me. Good-bye.

[e] Lit. "eyes," here and lower down; but a literal translation would be open to objection.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE LETTERS based on the order fixed in R. Y. Tyrrell and L. C. Purser, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*, vol. vii., Dublin, 1901 (by kind permission of the Board of Trinity College, Dublin).

ABBREVIATIONS

A = *Epistulae ad Atticum.*
F = *Epistulae ad Familiares.*
Q.Fr. = *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem.*
Br. = *Epistulae ad M. Brutum.*

B.C.

68 A i. 5, 6, 7 ?
67 A i. 9, 8, 10, 11
66 A i. 3, 4
65 A i. 1, 2
64 [*Q. Cic. de petit. consul.*]
63 F xiii. 76 ?
62 F v. 7, 1, 2, 6
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